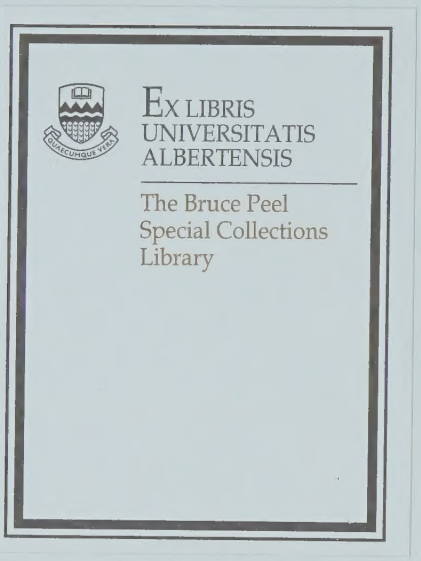

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The Anxiety of Contact: Representations of the Amerindian in Early Modern English Colonial Writings, c. 1576-1622

by

Paul Warren DePasquale 

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Department of English

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 1999

University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Anxiety of Contact: Representations of the Amerindian in Early Modern English Colonial Writings, c. 1576-1622" submitted by Paul Warren DePasquale in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Abstract

This dissertation examines representations of Amerindians in early modern English travel narratives, colonial instructions, sermons, propaganda, letters, diaries, plays, and poems. It focuses on the primary and historical evidence associated with three key moments in England's earliest efforts to colonize North America: Frobisher's expeditions to the modern Canadian Arctic (1576-78); Ralegh's voyages to modern Carolina's Outer Banks (from 1584 and 1590); and the early years of England's colony at Jamestown (around 1606 to 1622).

Several scholars, notably those whose writings appeared in the journal Representations and were reprinted in Greenblatt's New World Encounters (1993), have valuably challenged notions of Euro-American contact as monolithic and one way, but have been less successful in attending to what Greenblatt calls the "rumor of words" in a search for textual otherness. I explore the "rumor of words" to see to what extent a sense of agency in past American peoples is inscribed in texts written by England's early imperialists. Through an examination and contextualization of representations of Amerindians, this work offers the idea that many of these images express a significant degree of contemporary uncertainty, anxiety, and ambivalence--among travel writers, colonial organizers, leaders, propagandists, and the reading public--to American exploration and contact with America's others. The dis-ease I find results not in a counter- or anti-imperialist discourse as such, although there are strong moments of such an oppositional critique. More commonly it results in an impression of several communities of readers, travellers, theorists, investors, and settlers that were quite tentative about, and uncertain of, England's hegemony over America's indigenes. This project suggests that there were many English on both sides of the Atlantic thinking and writing in a way that questioned England's colonial activities as well as European

assumptions about non-European peoples. New World experiences forced a reevaluation of Old World typologies and mythologies, obviously. English texts of the period suggest, further, that Amerindians played a significantly active role in this reevaluation.

Acknowledgments

The idea for this dissertation began to take shape in 1993 when Jonathan Hart listened patiently (or so it seemed) to a graduate student who had several loosely formulated interests and ideas, but no real starting point or direction. Thank you, Jonathan, for your guidance back then, and for your encouragement, support, and belief in the value of this project since.

I am indebted to Ian MacLaren for the time and energy he gave to this project at several stages, and I thank him for helping make this a more accurate and readable work. My project has also benefited from the creative theoretical insights of Robert Wilson, who first piqued my interest in Renaissance narrative during a graduate course on Shakespearean comedy in 1992-93. I also wish to thank Olive P. Dickason for her advice and encouragement at various stages of my research and writing. Olive, as well as Mary B. Campbell, offered thoughtful and detailed assessments of the finished project; my appreciation to both for the interest they have shown in my work, and for their advice as to how I might go about improving it from here.

Several institutions have enabled my studies and research over the years. I am especially indebted to the Department of Indian Affairs and to the Grand River Post Secondary Education Office of the Six Nations Reserve for sponsoring and encouraging my academic studies. Various education counselors I have had at the GRPSEO, from Gloria Wasacase to Justine Henhawk-Bomberry, have always been supportive and helpful. Some of the research for this project was undertaken with the financial assistance of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. A Fulbright Scholarship in 1998-99 gave me the opportunity to examine rare materials at Houghton Library, Harvard University; the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University; and the Huntington Library. My thanks to Denise Yap, Program Officer of the Canada-U.S. Fulbright Program, for helping to make my year a fun and productive one. I would also like to acknowledge the support of the Department of English at the University of Alberta, and the help over the years of Graduate Secretary Kim Brown.

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Introduction

The major sighed, "War is a dirty business, Günter, you ought to know that. We all have to do terrible things. For example, I like you, and I admire your integrity. Never more than at this moment. But I must remind you that the penalty for refusing to obey an order is execution by firing squad. I don't state this as a threat, but as a fact of life. You know this as well as I do." The major walked to the window and then turned on his heel, "You see, these Italian traitors are all going to be shot anyway, whether you do it or not. Why add your own death to theirs? It would be a waste of a fine officer. All for nothing."

Günter Weber swallowed hard, and his lips trembled. He found it hard to speak. At last he said, "I request that my protest be recorded and put in my file, Herr Major."

"Your request is granted, Günter, but you must do as you are ordered. Heil Hitler."

. . . .Inside the office the major reasoned with himself that since the order came originally from the top, it was Colonel Barge's responsibility, or perhaps that of someone in Berlin. Ultimately, of course, it was down to the Führer. "That's war," he said aloud, and decided not to enter Leutnant Weber's protest in his record. There was no point in messing up his career for the sake of some laudable scruples. (Louis de Bernières, Captain Corelli's Mandolin 321)

It might seem rather unusual to begin a dissertation on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English representations of Amerindians with a passage from a recent novel dealing with the 1941 German/Italian occupation of the Greek island Cephallonia. Before I flesh out the connections between this passage and what it is I am trying to do in my own work, let me finish off the scene from de Bernières' historical fiction. Moments after leaving the major's office, Leutnant Günter Weber gave the order to his men to gun down a group of Italian officers, Captain Corelli among them, whom he had, despite himself, become familiar with and grown to like during the few months of the occupation. Weber's verbal protest, one plainly made not part of the official historical record but one de Bernières imagines and weaves into his fictional world, is the clearest indication that the German officer felt any misgivings about his most horrific assignment in Greece.

De Bernières' work foregrounds problems of historical fact and fiction, and attempts in a compelling and sophisticated way to explore and uncover what Foucault might term, in his formulation of the concept of *genealogy*, the "local and specific knowledges [which are] disqualified from the hierarchy of knowledges and sciences" (see esp. 83-85). The hypothetical exchange between Weber and the major polemicizes a reductive understanding of the historical past that focuses only on humanitarian crimes of unutterable gravity carried out by faceless and heartless automatons. To be sure, de Bernières does not write--as if it were desirable, necessary, or even possible to write--in order to sweep aside the memory of the grotesque and bloody past. On the contrary, he writes out of the political necessity--which the author personalizes in his dedication: "To *my mother and father*, who in different places and in different ways fought against the Fascists and the Nazis, lost many of their closest friends, and were never thanked"--to evoke the despicable motivations and mechanisms by which crimes against others are committed in the interests of wartime ideology. At the same time, however, de Bernières' work also points out the inherent shortsightedness of a totalizing

look at the historical past and its peoples. The disqualified protest of Günter Weber jars with late twentieth-century conceptions of World War Two Nazism; the novel suggests that this protest, "excavated," necessitates, even if it did not or could not redirect the outcome of historical events, a reexamination of a teleological view of others, since such a perception is often at the root of present-day stereotype and xenophobia.

Obviously there are more differences than similarities between the historical and imaginative events depicted in Captain Corelli's Mandolin and the subject which occupies me here, early modern English efforts to establish and represent cultural hegemony over America's peoples. However, in reading Renaissance English travel accounts, sermons, propaganda tracts, colonial instructions, diaries, letters, plays and poems written from around 1516 to 1640, I have become increasingly struck by numerous moments which, not unlike Günter Weber's disqualified protest, hint at a contemporary resistance to ideological agenda and necessity. As is the case for Weber, who shared at first the German belief that Italians were "racially inferior negroids" (198), but who through familiarity with the "other" begins to reconceptualize his idea of Italianness, much of the early colonial "opposition" I observe here is an outgrowth of direct personal contact with others, and of experiences that did not readily conform to prior expectation. Like Weber's file, the historical record of England's early colonization leaves no clear trace of this resistance. And unlike de Bernières' fiction, the historical record does not highlight in such auspiciously explicit terms the erasure of an individual's will to resistance, an effacement which places, by creative design, an especial stress on that individual's oppositional viewpoint.

The historical record, a slice of which I attempt to understand and articulate here, marks this opposition in a fundamentally *ambivalent* way. By use of the term *ambivalent* I have in mind partly the word's (dictionary) psychological connotation--"the coexistence in one person's mind of opposing feelings, esp. love and hate, in a single context" (Oxford Encyclopedic English Dictionary, 1991 ed.). *Ambivalence* also functions here in a way that suggests identification with the term as it is used by post-structuralist Homi K. Bhabha. Focusing on the discourse of post-Enlightenment English colonialism, Bhabha locates what he calls "in-between spaces," spaces which provide, he writes in the introduction to his collected essays, The Location of Culture, "the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood--singular or communal--that initiate new signs of identity" (1; cf. "The Commitment to Theory" 5-23). In these interstitial positions, the gaps or in-between spaces where culturally determinate modes of representation are made problematic, Bhabha identifies a kind of agency of formerly or presently colonized peoples.[1]

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[1] Not that this is an altogether new agency since what is revealed is only what was always in place. What was once mis- or un-represented requires, Bhabha suggests, a new form of re-presentation. The process of re-presenting is an act of creative reassemblage, of constructing new artifacts from old, of revealing the potentialities, the discursive places and spaces, of those who were once, but never wholly, without a voice. *Ambivalence* is a term central to what Bhabha identifies as the location of

The focus on agency which Bhabha and others bring to the discourses of post-Enlightenment colonialism is not surprising considering that in this era British imperialism took on its most influential shape and power. Analyses of colonial discourses produced during this time are therefore politically strategic and desirable, made even moreso by the fact that the imperialism which "began" during Victorian times has not come to a complete close for Britain nor for the other two central European powers, France and Spain (see Pagden, Lords of All the World 1-2). And yet it is surprising that scholarly attention to ambivalence and agency in discourses produced during the earlier, nascent period of colonization has been relatively slight,[2] since an examination of the subject might cohere with, and help to further re-contextualize, many later texts within a post-colonial framework.

The following case studies identify moments of ambivalence in early colonial writings, moments which nudge their way not free from but out through the cracks of the persistent rhetorical efforts of writers to express the easy containment of the New World and its peoples. There are two important and interrelated reasons which motivate this emphasis on where representational practices and strategies break down, or at least falter. The first of these has to do with my belief that English writers, particularly travel writers who witnessed America firsthand, found it a substantially more difficult task to describe unfamiliar territories and peoples than is commonly

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culture. It enables the theorist to suggest, for example, that one central aspect of colonial discourse, the stereotype, the attempt "to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction," is an inherently contradictory mode of representation, and is, for this reason, "as anxious as it is assertive" ("The Other Question" 70). It enables him further to point out the utter instability of the authority in a colonial command, and so to weaken the discursive claim to power and hegemony in relations with others (e.g. "Sly Civility" 97). See also "The Postcolonial and the Postmodern: The Question of Agency." For additional writings on the question of agency, see Spivak and Parry. Cf. the various discussions in Adam and Tiffin, eds.; and Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, eds.

[2] In his recent comparative analysis of early modern European texts, "Strategies of Promotion: Some Prefatory Matter of Oviedo, Thevet, and Hakluyt," Jonathan Hart has highlighted in valuable ways the ambivalent relationship of authors to their patron or general readers, as well as to their distinct national projects of collecting or assimilating archives in order to further the colonial process. His reading helps to unsettle views of a homogeneous form of power in the Renaissance although his project is not to reframe this ambivalence in the context of Euro-American relations. While Hart uses the term to provide a sense of the psychic difficulties to the contemporary European writer writing for specific audiences, I am more interested in the implications of ambivalence to Anglo-American trade and race relations and descriptions of these relations.

thought. The second reason, for which I think the first offers solid evidence, is that past Amerindian peoples played an unrecognized, highly active role in "shaping" discursive responses to the New World. While the documents which comprise the early modern record of Anglo-American contact and conflict are mediated wholly through a European perceptual framework,[3] a framework that was powerfully rigid though distinctly not immutable, I argue that the impact of New World inhabitants on writers of the period opens up for view a sense of the agency of past native peoples.

The critical ethos suggested in the above appositive--"a framework that was powerfully rigid though distinctly not immutable"--both informs this present work and sets it apart from other examinations of the representational practices of travel writers of and beyond the Renaissance. One of the questions I have had in mind while planning and writing this project is, to what extent did travellers' inherited expectations to do with non-European others inform their representations of the actual people whom they encountered? In his provocative study of Far-Fetched Facts: The Literature of Travel and the Idea of the South Seas (1995), Neil Rennie expresses what is the dominant perception of the degree to which the old helped to shape descriptions of the new: "[T]ravel from civilization tended to be regressive, the traveller discovering not a new land so much as a new location for old, nostalgic fictions about places lost in the distant past, now found in the distant present, found and confirmed, it seemed, in the form of exotic facts" (1; cf. Eva-Marie Kröller *et al*, eds., introduction, 1). The assumption of a relatively unproblematic translation and transportation of Old World mythologies and epistemologies to the New World supports much of the "older" and "newer" historical research that continues to be done in the area.[4] Umberto Eco, in his recent Serendipities: Language & Lunacy (1998), extends the tendency of travellers to carry a set of *a priori* ideological determinisms to foreign lands to its logical conclusion by universalizing this tendency as a definingly *human* trait:

> We (in the sense of human beings) travel and explore the world, carrying with us some "background books." These need not accompany us physically; the point is that we travel with preconceived notions of the world, derived from our cultural tradition. In a very curious sense we travel knowing in advance what we are on the verge of discovering,

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[3] For accounts of the Euro-American encounter from Amerindian perspectives outside the period under analysis here, see Mancall, "The Age of Discovery" 35, 50ns. 59 and 60.

[4] See Levin 58-60; Elliot, The Old World and the New 15, 19-20 and "Renaissance Europe and America" *passim*; Sale 153; Pagden, European Encounters 17-18 and "Ius et Factum" 86; Seed 25, 33-35; Todorov 5; Kupperman, Settling with the Indians *passim*; Célestin 21, *passim*; Greenblatt, Shakespearean Negotiations 26-28, 49 and Learning to Curse 21.

> because past reading has told us what we are supposed to discover. . . .Marco Polo [for example] looking for unicorns in China. . . .Cognitive science would say that he was determined by a cognitive model. He was unable to speak about the unknown but could only refer to what he already knew and expected to meet. He was a victim of his background books. (54-55)

"The real problem of a critique of our own cultural models," Eco adds, reconfiguring the "shortsightedness" of the past into a lesson for our own times, "is to ask, when we see a unicorn, if by any chance it is not a rhinoceros" (75).

This dissertation challenges the notion that travellers, at least English travellers of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, were "victims of [their] background books" in the sense that they applied, in an implicitly unconscious and indiscriminate way, the knowledges that they had inherited from past authorities to their representations of the new. My reading is partly influenced by Anthony Grafton's New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery (1992), one of many insightful works to emerge from the quincentennial of Columbus's landfall. Grafton traces the shifts in European intellectual thought from 1550 to 1650 arising out of a growing skepticism toward previously unquestioned "truths." He relates, for example, the sense of shock and bewilderment of the Jesuit José de Acosta (c. 1539-1600) who realized, upon crossing the Torrid Zone, that his own experience of travel drastically contradicted the theories of the ancients:

> Having read what poets and philosophers write of the Torrid Zone, I persuaded myself that when I came to the Equator, I would not be able to endure the violent heat, but it turned out otherwise. For when I passed [the Equator] . . . in March, I felt so cold that I was forced to go into the sun to warm myself. What could I do then but laugh at Aristotle's Meteorology and his philosophy? For in that place and that season, where everything, by his rules, should have been scorched by the heat, I and my companions were cold. (qtd. in Grafton 1)

I observe similar moments of shock throughout my own study, although these moments are not usually expressed in such a satisfyingly explicit way. More often they are registered in a kind of caesura, a hesitation that conveys a sense of the writer's surprise when the experience of the new jars with what was expected. While, to return to Eco above, it is rarely clear in the texts I survey that writers were actually stopping to ask if the fantastical unicorn they observed was in reality a rhinoceros, there are tangible instances of a discursive head-scratching taking place, and often a sense of writers who might have told significantly different stories had the ideological restrictions of early colonial reportage not been imposed upon, and had not impeded, their textual responses to American phenomena.

Several scholars have remarked that travel accounts did not spring into being merely to serve ideological purposes, but as an integral part of the experiences that travellers recorded,[5] an idea I have tried to keep in mind despite my fundamental skepticism of the truth-claims of early colonial travel writers. In this skepticism, my work shares concerns with those who have made the point that early colonial writings are less statements of observed reality than as the expression of authors' views mediated through the distorting lenses of early imperial agenda and exigency.[6] Stephen Greenblatt, this doubtful camp's most vocal proponent, has argued that it is less important "to distinguish between true and false representations than to look attentively at the nature of the representational practices that the Europeans carried with them to America and deployed when they tried to describe to their fellow countrymen what they saw and did" (Marvelous Possessions 7). Further, he cautiously though somewhat restrictively asserts that European texts provide access *only* to European modes of behavior. "We can be certain," writes Greenblatt, "*only* that European representations of the New World tell us something about the European practice of representation" (my emphasis, Marvelous Possessions 7).

I will discuss the limitations of this view in a moment, but first it is worth pointing out that Greenblatt's resolve comes fast on the heels of a characteristically personal moment, one in which the scholar wrestles with his gut reaction to the European travel narratives he has encountered:

> I have been very wary of taking anything Europeans wrote or drew as an accurate and reliable account of the nature of the New World lands and its peoples. It is almost impossible, I find, to make this skepticism an absolute and unwavering principle--I catch myself constantly straining to read into the European traces an account of what the American natives were 'really' like--but I have resisted as much as I can the temptation to speak for or about the native cultures as if the mediation of European representations were an incidental consideration, easily corrected for. At

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[5] See in particular Fuller 2; Edwards 7; and Helgerson 151.

[6] For late twentieth-century audiences the distinction between fact and fiction is less certain than for readers of the Renaissance, particularly since concepts of history have been rigorously challenged by such scholars as Lévi-Strauss in The Savage Mind (1966), and Hayden White in Metahistory (1973) and Tropics of Discourse (1978). The study of history has largely given way to the study of what White calls "'history-for,' history written in the interest of some infrascientific aim or vision" (Tropics 257). See also White's attack against common-sense positivism in "Rhetoric and History." Cf. Certeau, The Writing of History; Richard White 877-84; Todorov *passim*; and the collected essays in Greenblatt, ed., New World Encounters. For discussions of critical approaches to factually dubious travel accounts of the Renaissance, see Schwartz, ed.

> this time and place it is particularly tempting to take the most admiring European descriptions of the 'Indians' as if they were transparent truths and to reserve epistemological suspicion for the most hostile accounts, but this strategy produces altogether predictable, if sentimentally appealing, results. (7)

The main difficulty here is that, for Greenblatt, readings of early colonial representational practices must take only one of either two approaches. The first is chaotic, emotional, a willy-nilly interpretive free-for-all; it represents the kind of Derrida-inspired appropriation of the idea of "unlimited semiosis" which Eco attacks in The Limits of Interpretation (*passim*; cf. "Interpretation and history" 23-25). Here European travel writers are framed in a more user-friendly, late twentieth-century light. Distanced from their socio-political contexts, from the restrictions of early colonial agenda and reportage, such authors wrote the native truthfully, objectively, captured him as he "really" was. In contrast, the second approach, the one Greenblatt upholds, is ascetic, masculine in its scientificity, imposed not so much out of any theoretical necessity or rigor, but as a means of shutting down, it seems, an emotive response to those repressed voices in early colonial texts.

Greenblatt's impulse to engage such traces of the past is prevalent throughout his other writings as well. "I began with the desire to speak with the dead," he states in his famous opening line to Shakespearean Negotiations (1988):

> . . . . If I never believed that the dead could hear me, and if I knew that the dead could not speak, I was nonetheless certain that I could re-create a conversation with them. Even when I came to understand that in my most intense moments of straining to listen all I could hear was my own voice, even then I did not abandon my desire. . . .Many of the [textual] traces [of the dead] have little resonance, though every one, even the most trivial or tedious, contains some fragment of lost life; others seem uncannily full of the will to be heard. (1)

Recounting, in Learning to Curse (1990; rpt. 1992), his two-year reprieve from formal studies on a Fulbright at Cambridge, Greenblatt highlights as one of the pivotal influences in his academic career the lectures of Raymond Williams, and in particular Williams's attentiveness to the question of "whose voices were being repressed as well as represented in literary texts" (1-2). Similar concerns for traces of the past are raised again in Greenblatt's edited New World Encounters (1993).[7] Each essay in this work is

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[7] This important text reprints essays by Anthony Pagden, Inga Clendinnen, Mary C. Fuller, Frank Lestringant, Rolena Adorno and others which had previously appeared in a single issue of the journal Representations (Winter 1991) dedicated to the memory of Michel de Certeau.

principally concerned with, as Greenblatt writes, borrowing from the title of Nathan Wachtel's study, "the vision of the vanquished," a sense, the editor explains, "of alternative histories, competing accounts, and muffled voices," which resists a celebratory view of the European "discovery" of the Americas (introduction viii).

Unlike much of the revisionist scholarship which Peter C. Mancall has termed the "anti-Columbus literature of the early 1990s,"[8] New World Encounters challenges in a sophisticated manner assumptions of Euro-American contact as monolithic and one-way, largely by presenting essays written from varied historical, ethnographic, and literary perspectives which foreground certain shared critical principles and assumptions. In his introduction, Greenblatt sums up what he considers the four major similarities between these works: an assumption of *textual opacity* (the non-transparency of discourse); a recognition of *textual complexity* (relations of Euro-American contact are not monolithic or single-minded); a questioning of *textual authority*; and a search for *textual otherness*, the search, as Greenblatt writes, for what de Certeau has called "a rumor of words that vanish no sooner than they are uttered, and which are therefore lost forever" (Certeau, The Writing of History 212; qtd. in Greenblatt xvii). While Greenblatt admits that this "rumor of words" warrants critical attention, he is distinctly reticent on the subject and exhibits, moreover, a dubiety which extends the trajectory first charted in the passage quoted earlier from Marvelous Possessions (xvii).

Greenblatt's wariness in both works about attempting to read into European texts a detailed sense of what natives were "really" like and about speaking for or about native cultures are important to keep in mind.[9] As helpful as his writings on these and other matters have been over the course of this project, I find limiting the critical dichotomy he proposes--the implicit notion of an orderless, unbounded realm of interpretive (im)possibility on the one hand, and, on the other, the much more explicit position that discursive practices can *only* tell us something about the representational technologies of the *oppressor*. My main objection is one of focalization: Greenblatt's view does not allow for an in-depth questioning of the European presumption that the New World and its peoples were easily represented, "apprehended" in print or illustration, and mastered. In Voyages in print: English travel to America, 1576-1624 (1995), Mary C. Fuller importantly critiques Greenblatt (and Jeffrey Knapp) for his implicit assumption that the English took for granted their mastery in Anglo-American

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[8] See "The Age of Discovery" 30, 48n.29. The emphasis of such histories is clear in the caustic tone of their titles: Sale, The Conquest of Paradise (1990); Stannard, American Holocaust (1992); and Yewell, Dodge, and DeSirey, eds., Confronting Columbus (1992). See also those histories written from a non-European viewpoint, such as Gonzalez, ed., Without Discovery (1992) and Ronald Wright, Stolen Continents (1992).

[9] For recent discussions on the subject of appropriation, see the essays in Ziff and Rao, eds.

encounters and exchanges, and argues that narratives of the Jamestown settlement "should destabilize any account of this encounter, in its earliest decades at any rate, which argues for English mastery" (91-92). Like Fuller's analysis, my reading gives weight to moments which open up the possibility that many Renaissance writers and readers questioned England's control in America, although I identify the source of this questioning in a pervasive ambivalence on the subject of America's peoples.

Each of the following case studies looks at the primary and secondary materials to do with a formative moment in England's earliest efforts to settle North America. Chapter one examines the materials related to Martin Frobisher's 1576-78 expeditions to Meta Incognita (modern Canadian Arctic). As Réginald Auger, Michel Blackburn, and William W. Fitzhugh observe in their contribution to The Meta Incognita Project, these narratives, along with related documents like state papers, though they have been published or republished on various occasions, have not been submitted to detailed analytical study (56). Chapter one is the first such treatment of the Frobisher materials. It focuses on the construction of Frobisher as heroic explorer and tamer of the "cruel monsters and men of savage kind," as Thomas Ellis calls the Inuit in 1578 (46). Representations of natives in these accounts, particularly of those whom the English kidnapped on their journeys, disrupt the expression of an easy containment of the savage other. Several scholars, notably Stephen Greenblatt, Jonathan Hart, and Terence Hawkes, have described in valuable ways how American captives function as go-betweens, mediators, translators, bargaining devices, and marketable commodities. In contrast, my study moves towards a discussion of the disruptive potential of the captive Inuit as textual agents who compel the traveller/writer to call into question his inherited assumptions to do with the northern savages.

Walter Ralegh's attempts between 1584 and 1590 to settle the Carolina Outer Banks, called "Virginia" at the time in honour of Queen Elizabeth, form the subject of chapter two. Centring on the 1584 narrative of Arthur Barlowe, captain along with Philip Amadas of the reconnaissance expedition, I reexamine the golden age topoi which writers employed in their descriptions of American lands and peoples. Historians and critics, from Harry Levin and David B. Quinn to Patricia Seed and Stephen Greenblatt, view travel writers' appropriation of the myth of the golden age as a relatively unproblematic descriptive propensity in the early modern period, as if writers simply rewrote or reframed the old in their depictions of the new. My reading identifies descriptions of the new in Virginia that do not easily fit with the construction of an American Paradise, and then sets these representations in the context of colonial instructions written by stay-at-home theorists such as the two Richard Hakluyts. These guidelines, the first of their kind in England, at once directed travellers to observe and record the new in an unprecedentedly "objective" manner at the same time that they limited and even determined visual and textual responses to American phenomena by evoking the golden-age-like lands and resources that travellers could expect to discover on their journeys.

Chapter three addresses one final continuity in my discussion of colonial ambivalence, in the texts which appeared from around 1606 to 1622 associated with

England's first permanent colony at Jamestown. Extending the work of Greenblatt and Knapp on the European trope of trifles, I explore English anxiety in relation to the exchange of toys, baubles, hatchets, beads, and other goods of "small value" for indigenous commodities of greater worth. The promotional strategies of Virginia Company writers such as Robert Johnson, William Crashaw, Robert Gray, and William Symonds manifest an intensifying rhetorical push during the early Jamestown period, evidence of this colonial stage's unprecedented fragility which was in part the result of an extreme level of public opposition to England's American intrusion. Chapter three closes with an analysis of the writings of William Strachey, secretary of the Jamestown Council from 1609 to 1611, which texts offer, I argue, an important gloss on many of the contemporary debates to do with England's colonial greed.

The dates which mark the boundaries of my study are critical ones in England's early colonial history: 1576 is the year of the initial Frobisher expedition, the first sustained effort, as we will see in the first chapter, to challenge Spain's overseas endeavors; our terminal year, 1622, is the year of the uprising at Jamestown in which a group of Powhatan Algonkians attacked and murdered about 350 colonists. Images of Amerindians in the texts which followed this attack, beginning with Edward Waterhouse's "A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia. With a Relation of the Barbarous Massacre in the time of peace and League" (1622), syntonize with and augment anticipations of Indian barbarity in previously written texts (cf. Fuller 92; Hulme, Colonial Encounters 172). They show, in effect, a reactionary, xenophobic picture of natives which, though fascinating and revealing of its own brand of anxiety, lies beyond the bounds of this study. I am more interested here in revisiting those works which made possible, even inevitable, the extreme rhetoric of blame which followed the attack.

The Meta Incognita, Roanoke, and Jamestown projects mark three distinct stages in the development of English colonization--discovery, tentative settlement, and colonization--although these stages were not thought of as such by contemporary theorists, organizers, and writers. There is a logic and a value in placing these moments side-by-side for examination as I have done here. Although they correspond roughly to Wayne Franklin's distinctions of discovery, explorer, and settler narratives, the texts of these stages often blur the boundaries of Franklin's sub-genres. For example, in the third chapter we will look at the 1607 "settler" accounts of George Percy and Gabriel Archer, writings which document, among other things, the May 21-27, 1607 survey under Captain Christopher Newport up the James River. Descriptions of the discovery of new lands and of first encounters with a wide range of distinct Virginian Algonkian polities complicate a tidy picture of Percy's and Archer's narratives as statically "settler." Taken as a whole, the texts which comprise each of these three moments do offer, however, a sense of the transition from discovery through to settlement, even if the events which make up this transition are not always seamless, or consistently purposeful.

These three colonial attempts, unlike many smaller journeys to the West, had an enormous impact on early modern readers and writers: each was performed and written

up on a large scale and read about in a wide and active manner. The only other large-scale initiative of the same period to which I might have given more space is Humphrey Gilbert's unsuccessful voyages to Newfoundland in search of the Northwest Passage and his attempts to settle Norumbega (called New England after 1616) under his 1578 patent. Although we will look at several of the writings associated with Gilbert's attempts, I do not devote a chapter to Gilbert's project mainly for the reason that his individual efforts did not impact contemporary audiences in as enduring a way as the expeditions of Frobisher and Ralegh. While Gilbert's failures were well-known and problematic to later writers, the Meta Incognita and Roanoke initiatives signaled for the Jamestown writers and their readers even more palpable images of catastrophe and failure; in many ways, the aggressively "confident" Jamestown propaganda emerged largely out of a dis-ease to do with these past failures. Any study of the "successful" beginnings of America should therefore take into account these earlier disasters, the past anxiety and ambivalence which informed and shaped the rhetoric of the "present."

The narratives and supplementary documents of the Meta Incognita, Roanoke, and Jamestown voyages are reprinted in the authoritative editions of Vilhjalmur Stefansson and A.M. McCaskill, David B. Quinn, and Philip Barbour, respectively. These books are standard reading for students of England's early colonial history, and I make full use of them here, elaborating my discussions with additional materials either reprinted elsewhere or less-accessible in imprint. This project emphasizes early colonial writings in English, and it stresses most those materials which were written in response to one of the three colonial moments. To give a full sense of background to my analyses, it is sometimes necessary to examine non-English texts, and also to make use of other English reactions to New World discoveries which lay outside the immediate geographic or temporal bounds of this study. My readers can therefore expect to find references to works from Thomas More's Utopia (1516), which Mary B. Campbell calls "the first piece of travel literature produced in England's Age of Discovery" (212), to the writings of William Bloys, Thomas James, William Vaughan and others which appeared in the couple of decades following 1622. Discussing the organization of the complex bulk of travel accounts in his own analysis, Wayne Franklin observes that a "chronological arrangement of the material . . . conceal[s] other connections between single works or between different kinds of writing" (15). In general, I address works chronologically, because this approach enables me to share my sense of writers borrowing from, or developing, the representational strategies of other writers in a way that avoids anachronism. With Franklin's reservations in mind, however, I depart from this ordering principle whenever it seems appropriate to do so, in order to clarify and elaborate certain connections or departures between texts.

In researching and writing this study I have found most useful an approach toward historical and literary materials which asks a range of questions and which brings a variety of analytical tools and approaches to the drawing table. Since my project aims to contribute to the field by re-contextualizing colonial materials, and so to polemicize in a much-needed way our current understanding of Renaissance modes of imagining and depicting America's others, I make frequent use of historical,

archeological, and ethnographic evidence to help illuminate my discussions of the primary materials. In the sense that this work often explores the material forces of the production of texts and of the production of cultural and political meanings it is partly informed by new historicism and by cultural materialists like Jonathan Dollimore, Alan Sinfield, and others.[10] The critics whose works I have found the most inspiring are those who would endorse, as Jonathan Dollimore says of the contributors to Political Shakespeare, Frank Lentricchia's contention that "Ruling culture does not define the whole of culture, though it tries to, and it is the task of the oppositional critic to re-read culture so as to amplify and strategically position the marginalised voices of the ruled, exploited, oppressed, and excluded" (Lentricchia 15; Dollimore 14). Method provides a means into, or a way of seeing, texts and contexts, but the archive should be allowed to "speak to," and in this way help reconfigure, what theory suggests we can expect from them. For this reason, I try to avoid here a sense of methodological or theoretical inflexibility so as to avoid a misleading, if slightly comforting, impression of clarity to texts which are so often sprawling in their proportions and influences as well as contradictory in their intentions and meanings. The end product, I hope, provides matter for informative reading as well as for further investigation.

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[10] See the discussions in Dollimore, "Introduction: Shakespeare, cultural materialism and the new historicism" 2-17; Dollimore and Sinfield, "Culture and textuality" *passim*, and foreward to Loomba esp. vii-viii.

Chapter One

"A miraculous manlinesse to abound in that brutish nation": Martin Frobisher Among the Inuit, c. 1576-1578

Our men gaue them pinnes and pointes, and such trifles as they had. And they likewise bestowed on our men, two bowe cases, and suche things as they had. They earnestlye desired oure menne to goe vppe into their Countrie, and our men offered them like kindnesse aboorde oure shippes, but neyther parte (as it séemes) admitted or trusted the others curtesie. (George Best, "A Trve Discovrse" 58)

The first English attempt to colonize North America was a complete and utter failure from the point of view of establishing a long-term, self-sustaining body of colonists in the New World. Martin Frobisher had been instructed to build a large residence for one hundred miners and soldiers who were to remain at least the winter of 1578-79 but, since many of the construction materials and provisions were apparently damaged at sea, a smaller house, one measuring 14 by 8 feet, was erected in its place, on Countess of Warwick Island (now known as Kodlunarn or "White Man" Island). This building, called "Fenton's Watchtower" after the captain in charge of its construction, was built with a mortared stone foundation and, as such, is the earliest permanent structure erected by the English in the New World. Since explorer and ethnographer Charles Francis Hall's first visit to Kodlunarn in 1861, archeologists have studied the remains of Fenton's Watchtower along with numerous other Elizabethan structures and artifacts--a smithy, an assay office, cache pits, a reservoir, mines, ship's trench, furnace pit, iron materials, ceramics, and so forth--in an effort to determine the cross-cultural effects of sixteenth-century Anglo-Inuit contact and conflict.[1] While the archeological record of early modern English occupation in North America remains in its infancy (Auger 151), the three Frobisher expeditions (1576, 1577, and 1578) are the most well-documented of all European attempts to colonize and exploit the New World (Washburn 41). The fact that so many documents were produced is no doubt owing to the numerous lawsuits and other legal proceedings which followed the massive losses investors, including Queen Elizabeth, suffered as a result of one of the largest Arctic maritime ventures to date (Hogarth 15; Alsford, introduction, 2), and a speculation in precious metals which has been recently compared to the Bre-X scandal (see Berkowitz).

Shortly after the return of the final voyage in the fall of 1578, samples of the 1,200 tons of "ore" with which Frobisher's fifteen ships returned to England were smelted, determined worthless, and eventually dumped into the Thames. Frobisher and

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[1] I use the term *Inuit* throughout to refer to those peoples indigenous to the Arctic coasts of North America and Greenland, rather than the appellation, *Eskimo*, which comes from an Algonkian term meaning "eaters of raw meat." Olive P. Dickason explains that present-day Arctic peoples prefer to replace the pejorative *Eskimo* with their own name for themselves, *Inuit*, meaning "the people" (24).

Michael Lok, the wealthy London merchant who was his principal financier, faced bankruptcy and royal censure (Fitzhugh 1). In addition to about fifty lives lost on the three expeditions, nothing remained of Lok's substantial fortune, all the paid subscriptions, and the queen's own adventure--an investment totaling some £70,000. Lok was confined to a debtor's prison while Frobisher was exonerated, despite twenty-three charges brought against him by the Cathay Company in 1578.[2] While the explorer wrote nothing in his travels, his more lettered captains and adventurers helped him achieve a kind of epic heroism by producing glowing accounts of his conduct in America (Fitzhugh 1).[3] Thomas Ellis's commendatory verse at the close of his "True report," for example, praises the noble actions of the ancient Greeks, and then demands:

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[2] In addition to favoritism and nepotism, Frobisher was charged with the more serious crimes of carrying an additional four ships and one hundred men without commission; denying his orders to plant Fenton and one hundred colonists; promoting and overpaying his miners; refusing the advice of his counsellors as required by the queen's instructions; deliberately leading his fleets to the wrong places; drawing a dagger on his assayer, Jonas Shutz, to hurry him along; and attempting to starve some of his men by feeding them rotten fish. See Cathay Company, "The Abuses of Captayn Furbusher agaynst the Companye" 208-11.

[3] On only one occasion did Frobisher write about North America, in a commendatory poem included in George Peckham's "A True Reporte of the late discoveries [of] Sir Humfrey Gilbert" (1583): "A pleasant ayre, a sweete and firtell soile,/A certain gaine, a never dying praise:/An easie passage, voide of loathsome toile,/Found out by some, and knowen to me the waies./All this is there, then who will refraine to trie:/That loves to live abroad, or dreades to die" (qtd. in Stefansson and McCaskill, eds., introduction, 1: cxviii). George B. Parks gives a concise summary of the publishing history of the major Frobisher narratives. Dionyse Settle's influential and popular account of the second expedition "A true report of the laste voyage into the West and Northwest regions" (1577) was variously translated into French, Latin, Italian, and German. Settle's text was followed by Thomas Ellis's "A true report of the third and last voyage into *Metaincognita*"(1578) and George Best's "A Trve Discovrse" (1578). Parks refers to the latter work, the only account of all three Frobisher expeditions, as "the first new travel narrative of any size, running to perhaps 40,000 words . . . the first substantial triumph of the new literature" (105-06). Richard Hakluyt reprinted Settle's and Ellis's accounts in Principall Navigations, in both the 1589 one-volume edition and in the third volume of the 1598-1600 edition (which has only one "l" in the title), while Best's work was reprinted in only the latter version. Stefansson and McCaskill, eds., 2: 226-28 provide a more detailed discussion of these major texts, as well as of others by Christopher Hall, Michael Lok, and Edward Sellman. Hall's text appeared in both Hakluyt editions, while Lok's and Sellman's remained unpublished until the Hakluyt Society's 1867 edition of The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher, edited by Richard Collinson. Walter A. Kenyon published in 1980-81 the journal of Edward Fenton, captain of the *Judith* on the 1578 expedition. See Kenyon, "The Canadian Arctic Journal of Capt. Edward Fenton, 1578."

Why should not then our Frobisher,
who farre doeth them surmount,
With golden trumpe of thundering fame,
be had in like account?
His heart as valiant is, as theirs:
his hazardes, were more harde:
His good successe, doth theirs surpasse:
if they be well comparde.
The glittering fleece that he doth bring,
in value sure is more,
Than Iasons was, or Alcides fruite,
whereof was made such store:
And cruell monsters he doeth tame,
and men of sauage kinde,
And searcheth out the swelling Seas,
and countries straunge doth finde:
And bringes home treasure to his lande,
and doth enrich the same,
And courage geues to noble heartes,
to seek for flight of fame.
Giue place, therefore, you Græcians now,
and to me geue assent:
This worthie wight excelles your impes,
the which before him went. (46)

These lines are a prime instance of what Jonathan Hart, like Anthony Pagden, sees as the anxiety of classical influence and the European myth of the *translatio imperii*, "the translation of empire": "one of the main recurrent imperial themes . . . in which colonizers, regardless of whether they have been colonized, identify with earlier empires and create a myth of continuity" (Hart, "Translating and Resisting" 145; Pagden, Lords of All the World 11-28).

In the absence of any solid evidence to back up Ellis's claims there is nothing surprising to late twentieth-century readers who are familiar with the dominant hyperbolic chord in Renaissance travel accounts. But the question of the materiality or profitability of Meta Incognita, and the difficulty of how to assert this materiality or profitability to patron readers, were central concerns to the Frobisher writers. Undermining the image of the undaunted explorer in writings such as Ellis's, the Frobisher narratives betray signs of a number of stress points concerning England's early colonial agendas, among them an anxiety to do with travelling to the far reaches of North America, a region Renaissance Europeans feared even more than the dreaded Bermudas, the so-called "Isle of Devils." Linked to the fear of travel to the cold and inhospitable North was the expectation of conflict with its homomonstrous inhabitants.

While this anxiety does not exactly turn the civilized/savage dichotomy on its head, it does at certain key moments call into question the English presumption of their mastery over "savage" and "barbaric" peoples. Frobisher and his crew, since they are continually thwarted and outsmarted by duplicitous natives, particularly ones with much prior experience in dealing with outsiders, develop, the texts suggest, a marked sense of their ineffectiveness and impotency in the Arctic.

Traditional historians have tended to see the Frobisher voyages as of relatively minor consequence to the rise of English expansionism and imperialism.[4] England's first major transatlantic initiative did not provide the kind of challenge to French, Spanish, and Portuguese achievements in the New World that the queen had hoped for.[5] Nor did it lead to the kinds of new resources that Lok and the other members of the Cathay Company had anticipated. It failed to develop, as the Muscovy Company had developed, the ever-expanding market for England's manufactured, especially woolen, goods necessary for England's economic growth and prosperity.[6] Underlying this need to identify a readily-expandable market was the threat of civil disobedience at home. In

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[4] See McFee *passim*; Kenyon, Tokens of Possession *passim*; Alsford, introduction, 1; Auger, Blackburn, and Fitzhugh 56.

[5] This challenge is a frequently overlooked explanation of why Elizabeth agreed to contribute funds as well as one of her ships, the *Ayde*, to the search for the Northwest Passage. Contemporary writers certainly felt that Frobisher's presence in the New World was a potential threat to England's rival nations, particularly to Spain (see Cathay Company, "The Abuses of Captayn Furbusher" 208; Thomas Churchyard, "A prayse, and reporte of Maister Martyne Forboisher's Voyage," Stefansson and McCaskill, eds., appendix 5, 231). The newly appointed Spanish ambassador to England, Don Bernardino de Mendoza, viewed the English initiative as a threatening gesture and planted a spy on the second expedition (Hogarth 140). James McDermott's recent analysis of the financial records of the three expeditions suggests that many early investors were growing wary after the second voyage, particularly since London-based assayers took a curiously long time to determine the worth of the ore, yet were barred from withdrawing because of the monarch's involvement (Berkowitz 3). In "An Order sett downe by the Queenes Ma[jesties] expresse commandement, touching the supplying of such Summes of Money as are due by the Adventurers in the Northwest Voyage, otherwise called *Meta Incognita*" Elizabeth reprimands those investors who had failed to observe "the rules of societie" by not paying their adventures as promised (202-03). Until recently, historians have had difficulty accounting for Elizabeth's investment in the third voyage without solid evidence of gold. "The real motive of the third voyage," according to British historian Robert Baldwin, "was to establish a colony in the New World" as a challenge to Spain (qtd. in Berkowitz 4). See also Washburn, "The Frobisher Relics" (42-43).

[6] For background information on the Muscovy and Cathay Companies, see Kenyon, Tokens of Possession 3-15.

"A Discovrse Of a Discouerie for a new Passage to Cataia" (1576) Humphrey Gilbert first proposed an English colony in the northern parts of North America to serve as a mid-point between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Importantly, he linked the threat of civil disobedience in England to the idea of overseas colonization: "We might inhabite some parte of those Countreys," he writes, "and settle there suche needie people of our Countrie, which now trouble the common welth, and through want here at home, are inforced to commit outragious offences, whereby they are dayly consumed with the Gallowes" (h.i.).[7] In not establishing a colony in North America, Frobisher had failed to provide the kind of vent or outlet that Gilbert had envisioned in the "Discourse." As well, the huge financial losses of the Frobisher expeditions made London merchants reluctant to invest in speculative overseas mineral ventures for several decades to come.

At the same time, however, as D.B. Quinn and A.N. Ryan have pointed out, the gullibility of the officials and "experts" who clung to the belief that gold had been discovered in Meta Incognita had a sobering impact on English overseas policies, contributing, as we shall see in the next chapter, to the development of somewhat more realistic expansionary policies and aims (34-35; Sale 232-34). The Frobisher narratives warrant further study on this basis alone. Several scholars have also demonstrated the usefulness of these accounts to an understanding of traditional Inuit culture and lifeways (see Sturtevant and Quinn; Rowley). As I hope to show here, an analysis of the Frobisher materials also contributes to a broader understanding of England's early failings in America, and of the representational practices and strategies resulting from these failings. Palliative and compensatory, the Frobisher accounts instantiate

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[7] The perception of the New World as a panacea for such Old World problems as crime, underemployment, and unemployment played an important role in the justification of American expansion. Richard Hakluyt the elder included it as an argument in his "Inducements to the lykinge of the voyadge intended to that parte of America which lyethe betwene 34. and 36. degree" (c. 1584): "The poore and Idle persons which nowe are ether burdensome or hurtefull to this Realme at home maye hereby become profytable members by ymployinge them . . . in those Countryes in mynes of goulde, sylver, copper etc." (62). This venting topos became a particularly effective rhetorical tool when given a Christian spin by such writers as Christopher Carleill in "A breefe and sommarie discourse upon the entended voyage to the hethermost partes of America" (1583): "Christian charitie doeth as greatly perwade the furtherance of this action, as any other that may bee laied before us, in as muche as thereby, wee shall not onely dooe a most excellent worke, in respect of reducyng the savage people, to Christianitie and civilitie, but also in respect of our poore sorte of people, whiche are verie many amongst us, livyng altogethere unprofitable, and often tymes to the great disquiet of the better sort" (31). The topos plays a key role in other promotional works of the period such as Peckham's "A True Reporte" (1583) and Hakluyt the younger's "Discourse of Western Planting" (c. 1584). Louis Montrose views the focus on trade as part of a larger dialogue which identified exploration, commerce, and colonization "as an escape valve for the frustrations of disaffected or marginalized groups, and as a solution to endemic socioeconomic problems at home" (206).

numerous moments of English isolation, ineffectiveness, and impotency. The extent to which such moments force us to rethink the English perception of an easy hegemony over Americans is a matter that I will pursue over the course of this study.

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At first glance some of the appeal in the Frobisher narratives to readers' sense of danger and fear seems little more than outright hyperbole. Take the example of George Best's account of the general's initial landing on North American soil in 1576, sixty leagues up the strait to which Frobisher would later give his name: "Hée wente ashore, and founde signe where fire had bin made. He saw mightie Déere, y^{t} [it, they] séemed to be Mankind, which ranne at him, and hardly he escaped with his life in a narrow way, where he was fayne to vse defence and policie to saue his life" (48). It is difficult to know what to make of a passage like this. On the one hand, since it is rather doubtful that a herd of deer (likely caribou) could pose such a threat to the life of Frobisher, the description seems to give away a fear, stretching to paranoia, about the dangers lurking in the American wilderness. On the other, since negotiating one's way through an alien territory is a semiotic process of identifying and trying to understand a wide diversity of signs, the passage, reflecting the alertness of Frobisher and his men to the potential presence of danger, is perhaps not so dubious.[8] After all, the "deer attack" occurred precisely where Frobisher had just "founde signe where fire had bin made," an obvious indication of human presence. Following this attack, and in the very same location, Frobisher "saw and perceyued sundry tokens of the peoples resorting thither." Details of the first encounter with savages and the capture of five Englishmen by the Inuit are related shortly after (48-49). In the context, then, the deer attack is a stage-setting for even more threatening (human) dangers to come.

This appeal to readers' sense of fear and danger exists for several reasons. Like Ellis's commendatory verse, quoted above, this appeal results in part of an effort to glorify the heroic actions of Frobisher in the New World. Next, in stressing the dangers and trials the English endured such as ice storms, native treachery, starvation, and loss of lives, authors reinforce the central themes of Christian ideology--suffering, deliverance, and redemption.[9] And since Frobisher and his men are a synecdoche of the

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[8] For discussions of a similar semiotic process in the writings of Columbus, see Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions 86 and Todorov 14ff.

[9] In "Hurricanes in the Caribbees" Peter Hulme discusses the allegorical significance of tempests in Silvester Jourdain's "A Discovery of the Bermudas, Otherwise Called the Isle of Devils" (1610), William Strachey's "A true reportorie of the wracke, and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates Knight" (c. 1609; publ. 1625), and Shakespeare's The Tempest (1611) in terms of the storm St. Paul encountered during his voyage in the Mediterranean. Deliverance from natural phenomena is represented in these texts as a clear indication of God's beneficence. Likewise, English occupation of ostensibly rich foreign territories following such trials is read

English nation the representation of their triumph over both natural and human forces also emphasizes England's cultural and racial supremacy in the New World. As well, it is perhaps axiomatic to say that the Frobisher narratives, like the prototypical travel works of Marco Polo and John Mandeville as well as the majority of travel narratives written since, incorporate elements of fear and danger in order to heighten readers' sense of enjoyment and pleasure of the genre. These, then, are some fairly tangible reasons for the appeal to fear and danger in the Frobisher materials. Perhaps less obvious are the ways that this appeal reflects contemporary western European theorizations of the North and northern peoples, an important yet overlooked context which helped to shape literary reactions to the Inuit with whom the English made contact.

Anthoine Chuppin's French version of Dionyse Settle's account, entitled *La Navigation du Capitaine Martin Forbisher Anglois és regions de west & Nordwest* (1577), celebrates Frobisher as the first to establish the habitability of the northern regions of North America (Stefansson and McCaskill, eds., appendix 3, 2: 226), a habitability much in dispute at the time as the northernmost parts of the world had long been thought lifeless and frozen, as Aristotle and other classical writers had maintained. According to Mary Helms, geographical assumptions such as those in Aristotle's Meteorology were largely responsible for the West's ascendancy as "the central heartland" in classical cultural geography, outside of which centre were expected to dwell a range of monstrous and barbaric races. This "heartland" (the Greek *oikoumene* or Roman *habitatio*) and its immediate hinterland (e.g. Roman Europe) were bordered by latitudinal zones considered uninhabitable due to extreme temperatures (212).[10] The

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as fulfillment of providential will. "We cast our selues into a ring," writes George Best of the second voyage," and altogither vppon oure knées, gaue GOD humble thankes, for that it had pleased him of his greate goodnesse in preseruing vs from such imminent dangers, to bestow so great & hidden treasures vpon vs his pore and unworthye seruants" (62).

[10] Hence the surprise, noted in my introduction, of José de Acosta when he safely crossed the Torrid Zone. George Best celebrates, in addition to the two other important intellectual achievements of his day--"the use and benefite of Printing Bookes" and "the Art of War"--perhaps the greatest advancement of all, "the Arte of Nauigation." The new navigational technologies, Best adds, made possible Frobisher's voyage past the famed Pillars of Hercules, beyond, that is, "the weaast ende of the olde worlde" (14-17). The search for the Northwest Passage put the latest technologies to their test. The Cathay Company's financial records indicate disbursements to Humphrey Cole, the leading English scientific instrument maker of the sixteenth century. (Cole was also appointed in 1577 and 1578 to assay the ore which Frobisher brought home.) The scientist supplied maps and nautical equipment, which included an astrolabe; eighteen hour glasses; an *Armilla Tolomei*, or armillary sphere; a *Sphera Nautica*; a *Compassum Meridianum* for determining the variation; a *Horologium Universale*, or equinoctial dial (a sun-dial which could be adjusted for any latitude); an *Annulus Astronomicus*, or astronomer's ring; and twenty compasses "of divers sorts." The ship's library included works

Macrobian zone map common in medieval encyclopedias reinforced these quintessentially Aristotelian assumptions. In Macrobius's Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, which the renowned map was designed to help illustrate, the writer observes that the earth

> is divided into regions of excessive cold or heat, with two temperate zones between the hot and cold regions. The northern and southern extremities are frozen with perpetual cold, two belts, so to speak, that go around the earth but are small since they encircle the extremities. Neither zone affords habitation, for their icy torpor withholds life from animals and vegetation . . . The belt in the middle and consequently the greatest . . . is uninhabited because of the raging heat. Between the extremities and the middle zone lie two belts . . . tempered by the extremes of the adjoining belts; in these alone has nature permitted the human race to exist. (qtd. in Friedman 39)

Macrobius's ideas were soon popularized through the writings of widely read medieval authors such as Martianus Capella, Orosius, Isidore of Seville, and Bede (Friedman 41).

Greek and Roman writers located those races considered barbaric outside their own centres of humanity. Civilization, particularly for the ancients, was tied to the concept of the *civitas*, the city outside of which, as Aristotle said in the fourth century BC, there existed only beasts and heroes. Away from his home in Ithaca, for instance, Odysseus, the wandering hero of the Trojan War, encounters Polyphemus the Cyclops, the Laestrygonians (half-men, half-giant cannibals), and the six-headed sea monster, Scylla. Generally speaking, the Romans, while intolerant of barbarians such as Turks, Jews, Saracens, Africans, Spaniards, and Gauls, understood that they needed, in order to fulfill their imagined imperialistic role in history, to practise some sort of inclusivity of

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such as William Cunningham's Cosmographical Glasse (1559), Dr. Record's Castle of Knowledge (1556), and Medina's *Arte de Naviguar* in the original Spanish, intended to help the crew understand the principles of Cole's instruments. The collection of maps included the universal map of Mercator, friend to Dr. John Dee, and several others considered authoritative, like the notoriously confused Zeno map of 1561. John Dee, scientist, cosmographer, and astrologer to the queen, lived in Muscovy House and spent the spring of 1576 on board Frobisher's ships, providing instruction in the use of navigational instruments and in the principles of geometry and cosmography. For a fuller discussion, with references, see Stefansson and McCaskill, eds., introduction, vol. 1. Walter A. Kenyon, Tokens of Possession 4ff. examines Spanish and Portuguese navigational expertise, which were considered superior to England's until London merchants, interested in developing overseas trade, induced Sebastian Cabot to return to England from his position as Chief Pilot of Spain in 1548. Cabot's training, experience, and expertise led to the opening of the northern route to Russia in 1553-54.

other races. Cicero's *De Republic* thus elaborated Aristotle's distinctions between rational and irrational souls, the basis for his theory of natural slavery, by insisting that a "just rule" was in the best interests of savage and barbarous nations. Once assimilated into the *civitas*, or more broadly the *imperium*, these barbarians would eventually become civilized by adopting Roman codes of moral conduct. Anthony Pagden suggests that the *civitas* became the "foundational metaphor" for the Roman Christian St. Augustine's The City of God, an image which was "carefully nurtured by the architects of the (illusory) 'Cities on the Hill' of Puritan New England" (Lords of All the World 18). Augustine's work was also necessarily inclusive so that even barbarians could, through the operations of God's saving grace, be granted admission into heaven. His Confessions is also important for in it Augustine tries to understand the workings of sin and heresy through an account of their antithesis in the pure and orthodox. Hayden White refers to Augustine's attempts to reconcile man's opposing and competing tendencies as the "technique of ostensive self-definition by negation"--"If we do not know what we think 'civilization' is," White explains, "we can always find an example of what it is not" ("Forms of Wildness" in Tropics of Discourse 151-52). Attitudes towards the northernmost reaches of Europe prior to the discovery of the New World embody many of these anxieties and concerns to do with travelling beyond the known, "civilized" world. Northern Scandinavia, for example, was believed to be inhabited by dwarfs, bearded women, Amazons, and various other strange and monstrous peoples (Helms 217-18). Not unlike today's monsters such as yeti, sasquatch, the Loch Ness monster, and Champ (the creature of Lake Champlain), which Jeffrey Jerome Cohen in Monster Theory: Reading Culture identifies as reflecting an "ambient fear," "a kind of total fear that saturates day-to-day living, prodding and silently antagonizing but never speaking its own name" (preface, viii; cf. Massumi), classical, medieval, and Renaissance societies constructed their own forms of monstrosity toward which their apprehensions of the unknown could be aimed.

Since northernmost America had not been adequately explored by the time Frobisher reached the Arctic, its regions had particularly ominous connotations in the European imagination. "All euill cõmeth from or hath originall in the North," writes Dionyse Settle in his "Epistle Dedicatory" to the Earl of Cumberland, trying to account for the sufferings of the English in the Arctic (7). The name Elizabeth gave to the areas discovered by Frobisher, "Meta Incognita," manifests a similar anxiety in that it conveys, as I.S. MacLaren suggests, a sense of the land's position "beyond that which is known to be unknown."[11] Travellers' dread of the Arctic is evoked in the few early modern texts which refer to the area. George Best alludes to a reference in Mercator concerning a friar/mathematician at Oxford, said to have travelled to the Arctic Pole

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[11] MacLaren, E-mail to the author. Greenblatt's translation of Meta Incognita as "the unknown mark or boundary, the empty sign" (Marvelous Possessions 116) does not adequately sum up the extent to which the contemporary literary and popular imaginations feared travel to such unknown parts.

two hundreds years before Frobisher, and to have described the surrounding waters as a "mo[n]strous receptacle, and swallowing sincke, with suche a violent force and currant, that a Shippe beyng entred . . . runneth . . . into the bowels of the earth" (19).[12] In the first printed English reference to Greenland, Richard Eden blames the treacherous Arctic waters on the savages who raise "tempestes on the sea with magical inchauntmentes, and brynge such shippes into daungeour as they intende to spoile [using] lyttle shyppes made of lether [to] assayle other shippes."[13] Not only were the waterways deemed highly tempestuous, rendering navigation impossible, but also the entire region was thought incapable of sustaining life because of the frozen conditions and absence of sunlight, ideas originating in Aristotle's Meteorology. Best, denying such fallacies in order to make the idea of northern travel more agreeable to his readers, appeals to his own firsthand experience to "prove" that there exists sufficient sun to "giue light & life to all things" (26).[14]

Connected to the European anxiety of travelling to northern regions was the fear of contact and conflict with the homomonstrous inhabitants of such remote parts, whose outward and inward characteristics were universally described as functions of their climate and geography. The *Republique* (1577) of renowned French jurist Jean Bodin contrasted the small, good-natured, and timid inhabitants of the fertile regions of the south to the large, robust, and war-like northerners who occupied more barren and sterile lands. Some years later, Montesquieu (1689-1755) extended such views to justify the enslavement of southern peoples based on their cowardice, and the right to liberty of northerners because of their more courageous spirits. The theologian and philosopher Pierre Charron theorized in *De la Sagesse* (1601) that variations in individuals' physical and temperamental characteristics were a product of their internal temperatures, which were in turn the result of whether they lived in the northern (cold), southern (hot), or middle (temperate) part of the world (see Dickason 45-47).[15]

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[12] According to E.G.R. Taylor, this fourteenth-century friar was probably Nicholas of Lynn. Nicholas described the lands he had witnessed in a 1360 journey beyond 54 degrees latitude in a book titled *Inventio Fortunatae*. This work was frequently cited before it went missing in the sixteenth century. Mercator used a narrative based on Nicholas's book as an authority for his famous map. See Tudor Geography 3, 133.

[13] From Decades of the newe worlde (1555) qtd. in Arber, The first Three English books on America 299. The reference is a translation of an excerpt from Jacob Ziegler's *Historia Schondiae*.

[14] Despite Best's claims to have been present on all three expeditions, evidence suggests that he probably sailed on only the second and third voyages (Hogarth 15-16).

[15] Such ideas were nothing new and had derived from Aristotle's view that habitation within the climatic mean engendered moral and social excellence. In the Politics, for example, the philosopher outlines the political and social advantages to the Greeks of inhabiting the middle

The link Bodin and, following him, Charron each made between geographical location and individual temperament reflects contemporary European assumptions made popular by such influential works as French royal cosmographer André Thevet's *Singularitez de la France antarctique* (Paris, 1557), one of the writings on the New World which Frobisher took with him to the Arctic.[16] In Thevet's account of the "powerful and war-like and insatiable workers" of northern Canada, the cosmographer grounds in the medieval theory of physiology, the four humors, the link he sees between northerners' geographic location and their physical and temperamental characteristics:

> It would seem that all these northern peoples are thus courageous, some more some less, just as those toward the other pole, especially in the tropics and around the equator are the contrary, because the excessive heat of the air draws their natural warmth out and dissipates it so they are only hot on the outside and cold on the inside. The [northerners] have their body heat closed and kept inside them by the external cold, which therefore renders them robust and valiant: for the strength and virtue of all parts of the body depend on this natural warmth. (152v)

Thevet's observations validate the favorable views of recent scholars such as Jean Céard who, unlike Thevet's many detractors, feel he is an important source of ethnographic information. Céard notes that the cosmographer preferred to ascribe what he called "singularities" to the diversity of human behaviour of New World races,

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climate (7.6, 567). The anonymously written pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* stresses the psychological and moral influence of climate. Since extremes in temperature disturb the mind and soul, races living in these regions are believed to be brutish in appearance and character. Pliny reinforces these Greek notions in his depiction of a causal relationship between savagery in nature and savagery in men. The monstrous associations of the North are explicit in Solinus and in the *Cosmographia* of Pseudo-Aethicus, which work describes how, in the frigid northern regions, "monsters have been seen . . . who seem to be incredible, nor is it a wasted labor to tell about them, because they ought to strike great terror in the reader and an insupportable fear in those hearing about them. Nor is there any goodness or beauty in them" (qtd. in Friedman 118; see also 52).

[16] In addition to those texts noted above, the ship's library included Thomas Hackett's 1568 English translation of Thevet's *Singularitez* called The new found worlde, or Antarctike, the French version of Thevet's *La Cosmographie universelle d'André Thevet, cosmographe du roy* (1575), and Mandeville's Travels. See Stefansson and McCaskill, eds., introduction, 1: cii-ciii. Unless otherwise noted, all references to Thevet's works are in Schlesinger and Stabler, eds.

resisting more popular theories of "monstrous" races of man.[17] Indeed, Thevet had little patience for the "certain ignoramuses," as he called them, those who maintained that Canadians were savages with actual fur growing out of their skins (*Singularitez* 153v; *Cosmographie* 1013r). He did, however, look to examples in the Bible as well as in Herodotus, Diodorus Sciculus, Plutarch, and Justinian to show that Amerindians were just as savage in warfare as the ancients who kicked, bit, grabbed hair, threw stones, and beat their opponents with large wooden clubs. And while natives did not eat their war prisoners like the natives of Brazil, Thevet argued that what the savages did to them was even more horrific: "if they capture some of their enemies or are otherwise victorious, they skin their head and face and lay them out in a circle to dry" (*Singularitez* 157r-157v; *Cosmographie* 1012v-1013r). Thevet's ideas on the native custom of scalping probably came from Cartier, who on his second expedition in 1535 had witnessed scalps "stretched on hoops like parchment" (Biggar 177). His depiction of this custom also reflects a general awareness and fear among the French of native styles of torture and execution.[18]

Thevet's representations of northerners also owe much to the western European tradition of the wild man who, since the Middle Ages, had been portrayed in literature and popular tradition as extraordinarily powerful, agile, loathsome, libidinous, intelligent, and deceitful (White, "The Forms of Wildness" *passim*). Such creatures were classified "beyond the pale in the geographical and moral senses," "beyond the

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[17] As scholars have long observed, André Thevet is a controversial figure whose truth-claims, among them to have travelled to Canada, are highly questionable. He asserts, for instance, that his descriptions of the country are based on interviews with eyewitnesses such as his "great and particular friend" Jacques Cartier, and Sebastian Cabot, with whom Thevet says he had consulted for "nine whole days." He also states that he had interviewed Donnacona, the Stadaconan chief whom Cartier captured on the eve of his return voyage to France in 1536 (see Schlesinger and Stabler, eds., introduction, xxxii-xxxiii). Frank Lestringant suggests that Thevet's repeated appeals to the authority of firsthand witnesses enabled him to take great liberties with his source materials and to "fictionalize" his geography (Cannibals 145-73). Bernard G. Hoffman (178-79) analyzes Thevet's fictitious conversations with Amerindians in the *Cosmographie*, which the cosmographer included as if they were his own experiences. Schlesinger and Stabler discuss Thevet's poor reputation as a scholar, beginning with the opinions of contemporary detractors Jean de Léry and François de Belleforest, who each accused Thevet of mendacity and plagiarism. This view remained largely in place until the 1930s when William F. Ganong argued that Thevet was an important source of ethnographic and geographic information on sixteenth-century Canada (introduction, xxxiii-xl).

[18] See Axtell, "The Unkindest Cut, or Who Invented Scalping? A Case Study" and "Scalping: The Ethnohistory of a Moral Question."

world of morally and politically ordered civilization" (Helms 50-51; cf. Braudel 42).[19] Typically more prone to violence and war than wild men, Thevet's Amerindians also share affinities with barbarians, whose moral natures hovered somewhere between potential good and probable evil (Helms 229), and whose characters were sometimes thought less salvageable than those of wild men, closer to genuine evil (Pagden, The Fall of Natural Man 21-22).

While Thevet did not believe that the Canadians whom the French encountered were necessarily cannibals, European preconceptions that northern-dwelling peoples consumed human flesh were firmly established by the time the English reached the Arctic. Frobisher and his crew found no direct evidence that the Inuit actually ate people but observations that their diet included dogs, entrails, "raw" meat, and "carrion" verified Old World taxonomies for classifying savage peoples. Sturtevant and Quinn suggest the possible influence of Mandeville who describes "a great yle" off the east coast of Asia near the realm of Prester John, "wherein dwell people as great as giants of xxviii or xxx fote of length . . . & they haue no clothinge but beasts skyns that hang on them, & they eat no bread but flesh raw, and they drink milke, & they haue no houses, & they eat gladiyer fleshe of men then other" (qtd. in Sturtevant and Quinn 115).

The disappearance of Frobisher's five men early on the first journey was clearly a terrifying event to Frobisher partly because it evoked English fears of native torture, execution, and cannibalism (cf. Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions 111). This fear had some basis in stories that circulated widely after the discovery of the New World, tales of New World indigenes capturing, murdering, then consuming their European victims. Vespucci's account of the fate of a crew member in his *Lettera* of 1509 is perhaps the most famously gruesome example along these lines. The explorer narrates the attempt to establish contact with a group of Indians who had previously been quite timorous. A young man, sent ashore to meet a group of native women, was initially gazed upon and touched with apparent awe and astonishment, and then ambushed from behind by a club-wielding savage. A group of natives emerged from hiding, charged the beach and attacked the party of Europeans which had come ashore in an effort to help their comrade. Frightened back to their ships, the travellers saw the Indians drag the young man's body into a nearby cave. Over the next several days, the narrative continues, they watched in horror as the savages roasted and feasted upon the body of their friend. They were further taunted by a grotesque exhibition of pieces of human flesh which the Indians staged, presumably to intimidate and mock them (see *Lettera* in Levillier; Colin 17).

The stock elements of seduction in Vespucci's narrative can be traced to ancient accounts of Western travellers enchanted by exotic female creatures such as Circe in Homer's Odyssey or the Amazons and sirens of Greek legend. The narrative also picks

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[19] For various attempts to account for the popularity of the wild man motif as it appears throughout the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries, see Lovejoy; Kermode, ed.; Bernheimer; Withington; Husband; Dudley and Novak, eds.

up on European conceptions of savagery, especially the traditional imagery of the duplicitous, fierce, and cannibalistic wild man. European pictorial representations of this incident stress the fabulous and monstrous creatures believed to inhabit the unexplored regions of the New World, including wild men and Cynocephali, a race of dog-headed cannibals originally thought to dwell in parts of India and then transported in the European imagination to regions of South America.[20] The iconography of early modern Europe is replete with such images, many of them used to illustrate the "experiences" of Vespucci and other explorers in the New World. Susi Colin's recent analysis of early modern "butchershop" woodcuts (c. 1525-30) suggests that, as more "realistic" visual accounts of Amerindians blended with creatures from folklore, myth, and legend, wild men, Indians, and Cynocephali were often used interchangeably and without distinction. This interplay of images and motifs accounts for some of the New World cannibal's appeal to Renaissance England's popular imagination, an imagination upon which, as Colin suggests, "the image of human body parts hanging in the smoke, suspended to dry, or roasting on a grill must have been dramatically emblazoned . . . for this image was to become one of the major iconographical attributes of the American Indian in the sixteenth century" (19).

Sturtevant and Quinn observe that one of the uncertainties the English faced in describing Meta Incognita, a country situated somewhere between Europe, Greenland, America, and Asia, was what to call the natives. Contemporary references, they note, vacillated between "country people," "strange people," "people of Cathay," "Tartars," "Tartar Indians," and even "Moors." Their observation--"George Best refers to them as 'savages' occasionally, usually in contexts alluding to violent conflict; more often he calls them 'country people,' although twice he does refer to them as 'the Caniballes'" (68)--puts a somewhat idealistic gloss on the representational practices of Best and his contemporaries. More likely these vacillations reflect the indeterminate geography and ethnology of the land and peoples, an indeterminacy which in no way suggests that the English did not know how to classify the indigenes. Rather, the English clearly perceived the Inuit in terms of recognizably ancient, medieval, and early modern conceptual frameworks and taxonomies. André Thevet's classification of various human, yet demonstrably monstrous, races based on geographical division in the *Singularitez* and *Cosmographie* provided the English with ample suggestion as to what

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[20] According to Frank Lestringant, Cynocephali are included in the catalogue of monstrous races which passed relatively unchanged from Pliny and Solinus to St. Augustine and into Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*. This latter work's fabulous list was taken up by Pierre d'Ailly in his highly popular and influential *Imago Mundi*, printed dozens of times in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries (Cannibals 15). Textual and visual descriptions of these creatures were widely available when Edward Topsell published in 1607 his famous encyclopedia, The historie of foure-footed beastes (see 10-12). On the Indian, Chinese, Greek, and Roman origins of the motif of the dog-headed man, see David Gordon White.

it might be like to travel to an inhospitable, foreboding landscape in the far reaches of the North.

The strong implication in both these works that the inhabitants of America became increasingly war-like and savage the farther north one travelled also played an important role in shaping English expectations of and responses to Meta Incognita's peoples. The *Cosmographie* describes the horrifying ritualistic practices of the Tupinamba women who eat the viscera and "shameful parts" of their victims and "wash" babies in victims' blood. *Singularitez* attributes this behaviour to the mythical Anthropophagi written about by Herodotus and Pliny, as well as to Scythians who fed on human flesh (Lestringant, Cannibals 61-62).[21] At the same time, however, in a discussion of the manner of war of northerners in the *Cosmographie*, Thevet describes Canadians as "the fiercest known people" (1011v), later comparing these savages to those whom Hercules found living in France (1013r). The implication, based on the link Thevet made between geographical location and disposition, was not lost on Frobisher nor on the members of his crew. Rather, it contributed in a profound way to the perceptual framework and interpretive apparatus that the English took with them into the northern regions of North America. In many ways the English record of Frobisher's journeys reads like a northern version of the southern regions and peoples described by Thevet. This record presents a similarly abysmal, terrifying colonial no man's land, a northern region which closely parallels the southern frontier which, unlike Meta Incognita, had already been explored, mapped, and articulated.

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Best and his colleagues make repeated reference to the many physical hardships that the English endured on their voyages as a result of the continuous ice storms, extreme cold, and shifting mountains of ice. Predictably, their intense loathing of these extreme conditions had a direct bearing on their overall view of the Arctic, particularly in terms of its suitability for English settlement. Dionyse Settle utilizes the rhetoric of negative description to dramatize these hateful conditions: "in place of odoriferous and fragrant smelles of swéete gummes, and pleasant notes of musicall birdes, which other Countries in more temperate Zone do yéeld, we tasted the most boisterous Boreall blasts, mixt with snow and haile, in the moneth of June and Julie" (13). Best likewise complains of the "subtile, piercing and searching" cold air which rendered English infections and diseases incurable. The land, he writes, is also subject to many earthquakes; even the meat of the wild animals and fowls is inferior to that of England. After heaping up a series of negative descriptions of Meta Incognita, Best concludes:

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[21] On the widely differing views towards the Tupinamba of Thevet's contemporary, Jean de Léry, see Lestringant's discussion of Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil* (1578) in "The Philosopher's Breviary."

> I finde in all the Countrie nothing, that maye be to delite in, either of pleasure or of accompte, only the shewe of Mine, both of golde, siluer, stéele, yron and blacke lead, with diuers preaty stones, as blewe Saphyre, very perfect and others, whereof we founde great plentie, maye giue encouragement for men to séeke thyther. And there is no doubt, but being well looked vnto and thorowly discouered, it wyll make our Countrie both rich and happye, and of these prosperous beginnings will growe hereafter (I hope) moste happye endings. (128-29)

What the landscape "lacked" in reality, the English imagination compensated for in a massive self-deception.

These fundamentally negative perceptions and images of the land translate into an equally unfavorable view of the inhabitants. Descriptions of the landscape and its peoples tend to be conceptually and discursively linked in discovery accounts, to the extent that these two aspects of previously unexplored territories were practically synonymous in the European imagination. The representation of the landscape or its inhabitants as objects evoking either intense pleasure or displeasure (never indifference) inevitably anticipates, as a kind of objective correlative, the author's view of the other. It is no coincidence that Best's description of the landscape is preceded by his portrayal of the Indians' alleged cannibalism, their warlike nature, and their supposed witchcraft and devil worshipping. He does manage occasionally to work in a few somewhat objective interpretations of native customs but these appear as a backdrop to the natives' more glaringly repulsive attributes. The author introduces the threatening and foreboding land by first representing its loathsome and savage hosts, and the overall sense of Meta Incognita that Best hopes to evoke in his reader ("I finde in all the Countrie nothing . . . only the shewe of Mine. . . .") is a product of the interplay of both of these undesirable aspects of the New World. The metaphorical relationship that exists between land and savage thus enables the writer to define and limit his royal and mercantile audience's response to the New World.

Nowhere is this link more apparent than in the writing of Dionyse Settle, who makes an explicit connection between a savage people and a barren landscape. He begins with the perfectly frank admission that "What knowledge they haue of God, or what Idol they adore, wée haue no perfect intelligence." Nonetheless, writes Settle, "I thincke them rather Anthropophagi, or deuourers of mans fleshe, then otherwise: for that there is no flesh or fishe, which they finde dead, (smell it neuer so filthily) but they will eate it, as they finde it, without any other dressing. A loathsome spectacle, either to the beholders, or hearers" (23). Settle's conclusion is authenticated by those other eyewitnesses, the beholders and hearers who have shared with him the grotesque spectacle of the feeding savage.[22] The writer's disgust transcends the personal; it is a

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[22] Discussing what she calls the "Improper/Unclean," Julia Kristeva notes that loathing for certain types of food (along with disgust for a piece of filth, waste, or feces) is one of "the most elementary and most archaic forms of abjection" (Powers of Horror 2). For a fascinating

collective response evoked by an experience as much visually gruesome as it is audibly repugnant.

The charge of cannibalism leads Settle quite naturally into a description of the land itself, which he can only convey in terms of absence. "There is very little plaine ground, and no grasse . . . There is not wood at all. To be briefe, there is nothing fitte, or profitable for y^{e} vse of man, which that Countrie with roote yéeldeth or bringeth forth." The land is as uncultivated and lacking as its inhabitants who take their meat "without any other dressing": "As the Countrie is barren and vnfertile, so are they rude and of no capacitie to culture the same, to any perfection: but are contented by their hunting, fishing, and fowling, with rawe flesh and warm bloud, to satisfie their gréedie panches, whiche is their onely glorie" (23). Settle's observation reflects in part the widespread European bias against "nomadic" and agrarian peoples, which I examine briefly in the following chapter in the context of Thomas More's Utopia (see note 25).

It is no surprise that strangers to a foreign land would view the landscape and its inhabitants through a similar lens and that, depending upon the experiences, disposition, and motivations of individual writers, their overall perception of the land and its peoples would essentially be either positive or negative. This parallel perception is especially common in early colonial texts which served, among other functions, to convince a predominantly mercantile or aristocratic audience that a certain American region was indeed worth or not worth settling and/or exploiting. The Frobisher materials fit this paradigm. The Cathay Company's instructions to Frobisher on his third voyage requested him to "learne all that you cane in all thinges, and take parfect notes thereof," especially details relevant to the future colonization and possession of Meta Incognita.[23] While no such "parfect notes" are today extant, the Frobisher narratives may be seen as a kind of collaborative verification or authentication of those more private and formal accounts which the Cathay Company required of Frobisher and his crew. In their unequivocal opposition to the idea of colonizing the northernmost parts of America, these narratives convey the impression that, while the country was

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discussion of Europeans' revulsion in the New World in the context of contemporary behaviour manuals, see Greenblatt, "Filthy Rites" in Learning to Curse esp. 60-62.

[23] See "Instructiones geven to o^{r} lovinge Frind *Martine Ffrobiser*" 155-61. In the "Minutes to *Mr. Locke* aboute *Mr. Furbisher* Viage" dated October 29, 1578, the Cathay Company instructed Lok to demand from Frobisher's crew all written accounts, "platts [drawings] and cartes [charts] of descriptions of the countries and places as they have made." This directive suggests that investors expected such written and visual records to be produced. The Cathay Company forbade crew members "to publish or gyve out to others any platts or descriptions of the same countries," presumably to prevent Spain from acquiring information concerning England's activities (168-69). The full title of Best's "A Trve Discovrse" states that the work includes "a particular Card [map] of *Meta Incognita*, so farre forth as the secretes of the voyage may permit" (3).

worth exploiting for its anticipated mineral wealth, it was definitely not worth the trouble or expense to settle.

However, opposition to the proposed colonial scheme--of *settlement*, that is, as distinct from a tacitly desirable imperial scheme which includes *resource extraction*--is never explicitly formulated in the Frobisher materials, since doing so, given the queen's investment and involvement, would have been seriously frowned upon by royal and mercantile audiences. Travel writers instead convey their negative assessments ambivalently or indirectly, as in Thomas Ellis's loquacious attempt to convince readers that, had misfortune not intervened, Captain Fenton and his crew of one hundred men would "with most willing heartes" have remained in Meta Incognita for one year as the queen and other adventurers had instructed:

> I will turne my penne a little to M. Capteine Fenton, and those Gentlemen, which should haue enhabited all the yeare in those countries, whose valiant minds were much to be commended, that neither feare of force, nor the cruell nipping stormes of the raging winter, neither the intemperature of so vnhealthsome a Countrie, neither the sauageness of the people, neither the sight and shewe of suche and so many straunge Meteores, neither the desire to returne to their natiue soile, neither regarde of friendes, neither care of possessions and inheritances: finally, not the loue of life (a thing of all other most sweete) neither the terrour of dreadfull death it selfe, might seeme to bee of sufficient force, to withdrawe their pronesse, or to restraine from that purpose, thereby to haue profited their countrie: but that with most willing heartes, venturous mindes, stoute stomachs, & singlar, manhod they were content there to haue tarried, and for the time (among a barbarous and vnciuill people, Infidels and miscreantes) to haue made their dwelling, not terrified with the manifolde and imminent daungers which they were like to runne into: & seeing before their eyes so many casualties . . . being I say thus minded and purposed, they deserue speciall commendation: For doubtlesse, they had done as they intended, if lucke had not withstood their willingnesse, & if that fortune had not so frowned vpon their intentes. (43)

Rhetorical devices pile one atop another here as *congeries* ("word heaps") and, specifically, *accumulatio* (the "heaping up" of negatives) combine with *anaphora* (the repetition of "neither" and its cognates "nor" and "not") to form one elaborately complex and labyrinthine sentence which utilizes the rhetoric of blame in order to dramatize the apparent heroism of Fenton and his men. At the same time, Ellis's hyperbolization directs attention to the very many possible reasons why not one of Frobisher's crew, not even a group of convicts some of whom were awaiting execution, appear to have been remotely interested in colonizing the northern parts of North

America.[24] Ellis's rather strained effort to praise Fenton and the others is one of many ambivalent moments in the Frobisher materials which highlight an English disavowal of anxiety to do with the inhospitable geographical space and its savage inhabitants.

English anxiety extends to a kind of paranoia about being under surveillance in America. Part of this paranoia has to do with the fact, one clearly recognized by both the English and the Inuit, that the inhabitants dramatically outnumbered the English (cf. Sturtevant and Quinn 112). Best refers to the "desperate men [who] might oppresse vs with multitude" and the English "perceyue a great multitude créeping behynde the Rockes." The visible number of natives is always taken as a sign of many more: "We discerne[d] of the[m] aboue one hundreth persons, and had cause to suspecte a greater number." There is the fear that the hills have eyes, as it were, that the threat is unlocalized: the "Countrey people lye lurking thereaboute" and they "lay hydde in the hylles thereaboute, and obserued all the manner of oure procéedings" (73-75).

I have suggested that a large part of English anxiety reflects the influence of various ancient, medieval, and Renaissance theorizations and mythologies surrounding the North and its peoples. The inhabitants' evident familiarity with outsiders, European and/or non-European, exacerbated this anxiety even further: immediately obvious to the travellers was the inhabitants' disregard for their large vessels; rather than exhibiting signs of wonder, fear, or hesitation over English ships, the Inuit demonstrated for the most part a shrewd and haughty contempt which Stefansson and McCaskill attribute to their awareness, based on previous contact with others, of the superior speed and maneuverability of their boats (1: 49n.1). Thomas Ellis remarks that the natives mocked the English because of their inability to capture them: "they would not onely shew them selues standing vppon highe cliffes, and call vs to come ouer vnto them: but also would come in their botes, very neere to vs, as it were to bragge at vs" (42). And Michael Lok writes that Frobisher, as he attempted to find the five men taken by the Inuit, could hear "them of the land laugh" ("Account of the First Voyage" 163).

The inhabitants also showed a sense of cunning and wariness in matters of trade. In the epigraph with which I began this chapter, Best expresses the mistrust and caution on both English and Inuit sides, and then he outlines "their manner of trafficke":

> [T]hey doe vse to lay downe of their marchandise vppon the ground, so much as they meane to parte withall, and so looking that the other partie,

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[24] According to Frobisher's instructions for the second expedition, eleven convicts were selected to colonize "Friseland" or southern Greenland and to serve as ambassadors who would smooth over any tensions with the locals in the event that Frobisher decided to return to the area. One of these criminals refused to leave his jail cell and the others became so unruly that Frobisher was forced to release them in Cornwall (Hogarth 16; Stefansson and McCaskill, eds., introduction, 1: cxii-cxiii). While it is not possible to reconstruct the precise influence of oral and written accounts of the first voyage's losses and hardships on the convicts, these reports certainly would not have encouraged them to journey to Meta Incognita for an indefinite stay.

> with whome they make trade, shoulde doe the like, they themselues doe departe, and then, if they doe like of their marte, they come againe, and take in exchange the others marchandise, otherwise, if they like not, they take their owne and departe. (58)

Inuit caution contributed to the English suspicion that the inhabitants had had some prior trading experience with outsiders (Best 49). (This suspicion has been borne out by recent studies of the large fleet of whaling and fishing vessels that operated out of French ports at Bordeaux, La Rochelle, as well as the Côte Basque.) Approximately eighty ships sailed to the St. Lawrence, Labrador, and Newfoundland in 1565, and as many as 380 might have sailed a decade later. Some of these vessels probably sailed farther north, hunting whales and trading with the Inuit (Cresswell, Harbottle, and Stoenner 179).

The travellers were well aware of the high probability of such prior contacts with outsiders. In an abandoned dwelling in Greenland, the English discovery of, among other materials, a box of small iron nails, led Best to remark that the inhabitants "haue trade with some ciuill people" (86; Sellman 56). That the natives of Meta Incognita were well acquainted with the European technology of writing offers additional evidence for his belief in prior Euro-Inuit relations (70-71n.1). As well, the journal of Edward Fenton, captain of the *Judith* on the 1578 expedition, refers twice to the "osmondes of iron," the notoriously enigmatic fifteen to twenty pound "iron blooms" since discovered by archeologists, the precise date, purpose, and origins of which have not yet been determined. Given that iron was quite scarce in the arctic regions, it is possible that the visitors recognized these objects to have an origin outside Meta Incognita, brought there by some previous European or non-European peoples.[25]

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[25] Assuming, that is, that the iron blooms were of non-English origin, which is a matter under much debate. The six blooms discovered in the Frobisher Bay region, more than any other artifact in the archeology of the area, have sparked a great deal of historical and scientific interest. They were perhaps used as dollies (heavy weights) in the repair of ships (Ehrenreich 226). Radiocarbon dates have placed their production anywhere from AD 640-760 to AD 1250-1440, at least, that is, 135 years prior to the Frobisher voyages. Given the evidence of the metallographic quality and composition of the blooms, in addition to Fenton's references to the "osmondes" which raise the possibility that they were already in the area when the English arrived, these dates have led some researchers to argue for a non-English, possibly Viking, origin (see Cresswell, Harbottle and Stoenner, *passim*). Other researchers believe that the radiocarbon dates, which vary over a considerable period of time, are possibly inaccurate due to the use of old or "dead" carbon (e.g. driftwood, aged charcoal, etc.) during the smelting or forging process (Ehrenreich 228; Fitzhugh 232-34.) For other discussions of this intriguing subject, see the essays, references, and bibliography in Fitzhugh and Olin, eds.

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The rhetoric of blame, typical of Renaissance travel accounts, both facilitates the construction of the native as an impediment or obstacle to the colonial agenda, and, thereby, helps to justify European intrusion into the New World. While a sense of *being in the right* is certainly one of the most fundamental and persistent themes of European colonization, the English seem to have felt an especial need to justify their actions in the Arctic. Best and his contemporaries repeatedly stress that, rather than treating the indigenes in a ruthless or brutal manner, perhaps as the Spanish would have in South or Central America, the English are courteous, friendly, and fair towards natives at all times. They employ only "fayre" and "friendly" means in order to "allure them to familiaritie" (Settle 16; cf. Best 67). While late twentieth-century readers might be struck by the juxtaposition of seemingly non-congruous words like "fayre" and "allure," there is no indication that the contemporary audience would have perceived any such contradiction. A like seamlessness is also apparent in the word "friendly," as in Frobisher's desire to "allure th[em] by such friendly means," or as in his intention "to returne to these tents againe, hoping, that he might by force or policie, entrappe or entice the people to some friendly confer[en]ce" (Best 67). Wholly Eurocentric in outlook and usage, these words, and the frequency with which they are used throughout the Frobisher accounts, indicate a strong need to stress a clear dichotomy between exactly who is and is not civilized, as if this was a matter in dispute among contemporary audiences.

"On the same day, after consultation [i.e. the meeting with the Inuit which we] had, we determined to sée, if by fayre meanes we could eyther allure them to familiaritie, or otherwise take some of them, and so atteine to some knowlege of those men, whome our Generall lost the year before" (16). This statement marks a critical moment in Settle's discourse since it introduces the slaughter (George Best's own word to describe it) of several Inuit at Bloody Point on the second expedition, which the writer is at some pains to justify. His declaration leaves no base uncovered: it is careful to stress that "fayre meanes" will be the initial line of approach in dealing with natives but that, should these means fail, the English will "otherwise take some of them." This unspecified (but entirely imaginable) course of action is justified by the loss of the five men on the previous voyage. Settle next relates the attack on the Inuit in which they, rather than submit to the English when their defeat was inevitable, plunged off cliffs into the sea in order to avoid capture. The writer concludes that the inhabitants, because unwilling to trust that the English would not kill them if they surrendered, are "altogether voyde of humanitie, and ignorant what mercy meaneth."[26]

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[26] Best attributes this seemingly odd Inuit behaviour to the fear, presumably related to him by the male prisoner captured a short time earlier, that the English "should receiue glorie or praye of their dead carcasses, for they supposed vs be like to be Canibales, or eaters of mans flesh" (68).

In failing to submit to the "mercy" and "fayre meanes" of the English, the Inuit had thereby foregone any right to civilized treatment: "[P]erceiuing that fayre meanes, as yet, is not able to allure them to familiaritie, we disposed our selues, contrarie to our inclination, something to be cruel, returned to their tentes, and made a spoyle of the same." Settle justifies the ensuing act of plunder by cataloguing the "useless" commodities the English found at the native encampment, trifling wares "more to be wondred at for their strangenesse, then for any other commoditie néedeful for our vse" (16-17). In this way, the rhetoric of justification consists of successive layerings of one justification atop another in a relentless effort to shift the focus away from the slaughter of the natives to a discussion of the useless and impoverished materials of Inuit culture.

Why do the English pay such elaborate discursive attention to the equitable treatment of the indigenes, and why these rhetorical maneuverings which seek to disavow all English culpability in any injury brought against them? Part of the answer lies in the dialogue taking place between the formal policies and instructions written by the queen and other investors and the written responses, which take on the form of an obeisance, of the Frobisher writers to these materials. The attention to fairness and friendliness in the accounts of Best and his colleagues foregrounds the extent to which public discourses are engaged with those private (oral as well as written) discourses which, to some degree, helped to bring them into being. Queen Elizabeth's instructions to Frobisher, for example, explicitly forbade the English from participating in any activity which might have jeopardized Anglo-Inuit relations:

> Item, we require that you shall instructe all yo^{r} people rather to muche then any thinge to littell, as well for yo^{r} owne saffetye there as of suche as you shall leave behinde you, that when you or they shall happen to come to have conference wth the people of those partes wher you shall arive, that in all yo^{r} doynges and theirs you so behave yo^{r} selves and theyme, towardes the said people as maye rather procure their frindships and good lykings towardes you by courtesyes then move them to any offence or myslikinge. (157)

Elizabeth's instructions help to contextualize the travel writers' alertness and defensiveness about any possible accusation of wrongdoing against Frobisher and his crew.

Stealing from the inhabitants was especially to be avoided, for obvious political and diplomatic reasons, and most of the contemporary writers are quite careful to stress that crew members did not participate in this behaviour. Consider, for example, how authors portray the euphemistically termed "bringing away" of two dogs from the camp of Greenlanders who fled at the arrival of the explorers on their third expedition. Writing that Frobisher's men "brought awaye wyth them, onelye twoo of theyr Dogges," Best emphasizes that bells, mirrors, and other toys were left by the English as recompense (86). Settle first informs readers that the English left knives, bells, and glasses before departing, and then adds, as a kind of afterthought, that they did so "not

taking any thing of theirs, excepte one Dogge to our Shippe" (16). Ellis's version praises, as the gloss in the margin indicates, "The courtesie of our Generall," who, in order to encourage the natives to return to their camp, "gaue commaundement, that his men should take nothing away with them, sauing onely a couple of white Dogges, for which he left pinnes, pointes, kniues, and other trifling thinges, and departed, without taking or hurting any thing" (36).

These various accounts point to a collusion among the Frobisher writers, as if they wrote their accounts to deny actual or anticipated accusations that Frobisher and his men had stolen the animals. With the exception of Edward Sellman, the notary whom Michael Lok sent on the 1578 voyage to report privately on the proceedings, each writer is careful to catalogue the trifles left in exchange for the animals in order to emphasize the fairness with which Greenlanders were treated. Ellis stresses that Frobisher had ordered his men not to take anything away from the Indian camp, while Sellman's idiomatic parallelism underscores what is clearly an act of insubordination: the English "*brought away* with them" two of their dogs at the same time that Frobisher "toke [gave] order with the company, that none shold *bring* any of their things *away*" (my emphasis, 56). The accounts seek further to downplay the number of dogs involved: Best writes that "*onelye* twoo" dogs were taken; Settle, who forgets or misrepresents the number of dogs, says that the English did not take anything "*excepte* one Dogge"; Ellis's version states that Frobisher commanded that nothing should be taken away, "*sauing onely* a couple of white Dogges" (my emphasis).

This rhetoric of justification, shared as it is by each of the major Frobisher writers, raises many fascinating issues for students of early modern travel writing, among them the intertextual nature of these narratives and the relationship they share with their contemporary readers. The repeated disavowals and downplayings suggest a considerable anxiety to do with the matter of the "bringing away" of the two dogs, although in the absence of any extant documentation accusing Frobisher and his crew of stealing the animals, it is difficult to locate the precise origins of this anxiety.[27] The

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[27] We learn no more about the stolen dogs elsewhere in the Frobisher narratives which is not entirely surprising given that these animals were quite likely eaten by the English, an action few members of the aristocratic or mercantile audience would not have considered most barbaric and repulsive. The travellers had observed the Inuit custom of consuming dogs (Best 70), and living conditions in the Arctic inevitably necessitated a significant degree of flexibility in one's alimentary preferences. The clearest suggestion that the dogs were intended as a food supply appears in Sellman's account, a private report prepared for Michael Lok and not published until Richard Collinson's edition of the Frobisher materials for the Hakluyt Society in 1867. Sellman's remarks to do with the dogs are made in the context of Frobisher comparing the alimentary customs of the Greenlanders to those of the people of Meta Incognita: "[T]he Generall doth take them [the Greenlanders] to be a more delicat people in lodging and feeding then the other [of Meta Incognita]: They found of their seals which they [the Greenlanders] had taken sundry, and other victuaill which they could not tell what flesh or fish yt was: At their said tente they found allso 40 yong whelps, wherof 2 they brought away with them, they are

scholar who looks for "conclusive" evidence of this sort, the material out of which the traditional historian hopes to weave his or her narrative, will invariably find that it is often absent in early colonial texts. The silences and gaps are remarkably suggestive, however, and seem to point to writers' anxiety about how their accounts would be received by the contemporary audience.

Such anxiety extends to the reactions of others when making contact, specifically, to the apprehension that an English presence evokes in others. Stopping at Orkney in 1577, for example, Frobisher and his men went ashore to make some peaceful contact with the Islanders when they, Best writes, "beganne to flée, *as from the Enimie*" (my emphasis, 53). The extraordinary thing here is not so much that the travellers seem to provoke an apprehension in strangers, but, rather, that they themselves are so awestruck by this phenomenon (cf. 66, 86). While the English often take delight in a sense of their own power and God-like ability to instill fear into the hearts of savages, the visitors show here more a bafflement or frustration that others fail to identify and reciprocate their good intentions. Frobisher approached the Islanders, "to declare what wée were," it seems fully expecting that his assertion of national identity would quickly and effectively assuage the Islanders' dis-ease, and resolve any misunderstanding and potential conflict between the two peoples (53-54). A similar rhetoric of wonder or frustration emerges when the travellers sense the strangeness which they evoke in others. The Greenlanders provoke a rather uncharacteristic reaction which imagines, from the perspective of the other, what it might be like to experience otherness:

> The sauage and simple people, so soone as they perceyued our men comming towards them (supposing there had bin no other Worlde, but theirs) fledde fearefully away, as men muche amazed at so strange a sight, and creatures of humane shape, so farre in apparell, complexion, and other things different from themselues. (Best 86)

Although we recognize that the writer's observation mirrors the travellers' own response to the American strangers, the visitors' Eurocentric vision of human and monstrous order, Best's rhetoric of Indian simplicity functions in part to suggest to the patron audience that the inhabitants ran away, not because of anything the travellers had done to them, but because of their own savage ignorance and naiveté.

The apprehension of the Orcadians and Greenlanders contrasts dramatically with the supposed eagerness with which the people of Meta Incognita desire to meet the

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allso like the dogs of the place afore named [Meta Incognita]" (56). While hardly a glaring admission that the English ate the dogs, Sellman's observations at least reflect an interconnectedness of thought, and an intriguing, entirely plausible context within which the dog captures appear, in the absence of any other reference to the animals, much less random and arbitrary.

English, although the travellers were not prepared to reciprocate this eagerness without skepticism, particularly not after the kidnapping of the five Englishmen in 1576. In fact, all subsequent Anglo-Inuit relations appear in the context of this action, represented as it is by the English as a complete betrayal of trust and good will. Consider first the way Best sets up the initial Anglo-Inuit encounter on the 1576 expedition. From the top of a hill, Frobisher

> perceiued a number of small things fléeting in the Sea a farre off, whyche hée supposed to be Porposes, or Ceales, or some kinde of strange fishe: but comming nearer, he discouered them to be men, in small boates made of leather. And before he could discende downe from the hyll, certain of those people had almost cut off his boate fro him, hauing stollen secretely behinde the rocks for that purpose, where he spéedily hasted to his boate, and bent himselfe to his Holbert, and narrowly escaped the daunger, and saued his bote. (49)

These apparently aggressive and surreptitious actions of the Inuit help to anticipate their subsequent treacherous conduct, although Best first narrates the friendly relations of the two peoples in a way that stresses English courtesy at the same time that it foregrounds savage duplicity. After Frobisher had "narrowly escaped the daunger, and saued his bote," writes Best,

> he had sundry conferences with the[m], and they came aborde his ship, and brought him Salmon and raw fleshe and fishe. . . .And to shewe their agilitie, they tryed many maisteries, vpon the ropes of the ship, after our Mariners fashion, and appeared to be verie strong of theyr armes, and nimble of their bodies. They exchaunged coates of Ceale, and Beares skinnes, and such like, with our men, and receiued belles, loking glasses, and other toyes in recompence thereof againe. After great curtesie, and manye méetings, our Mariners, contrarie to their Captaines dyrection, began more easily to trust them, and fiue of our me[n] going a shoare, were by them intercepted with their boate, and were neuer since hearde of to this day againe. (49)

There is a distinct lack of a sense of the temporal passage here between first contact and the loss of the five men; this foreshortening of comings and goings, events and exchanges, by leaving no room for the presentation of English caution, fear, or mistrust of the Inuit, contributes to the construction of the English (all except the omniscient Frobisher) as naive victims of savage cunning and treachery. The few events which Best chooses to relate from the "sundry conferences" and "manye méetings" between the two peoples--gifts of food from the natives, mutual exchanges, shows of strength and agility "vpon the ropes of the ship" in the manner of boyish and playful competition--suggest little but friendly and amicable Anglo-Inuit contact and

further develop Best's rhetoric of victimization. Indeed, in Best's depiction the crime against the English is particularly heinous as it is an outright betrayal of trust and friendship, a double-crossing emphasized by the resonating verbosity and horror of the phrase, "and were neuer since hearde of to this day againe."

The loss of the five men and the only pinnace was a significant one to the English for it meant that they had no means of getting ashore, no means of continuing their exploration; therefore, it provoked Frobisher's premature departure for England (Fitzhugh 234). Perhaps as a defense against the censure of the expedition's critics as well as a concealment of the evident reality that the English had been outwitted, Best invokes the rhetoric of blame. Since scapegoats are easy to find when they are not available to verify information, Best implies that the disobedience of the five men who acted "contrarie to their Captaines dyrection" in going ashore is partly to blame. Michael Lok explicitly blames the five men (and glorifies Frobisher) in his account, a secondhand rendering based on information provided by Frobisher. Lok attacks the "foolish mynde of the mariners" who sought to trade privately with the Indians, and praises Frobisher's ability to "wisely forsee that these strange people are not to be trusted for any cause nor shew of freendship that they would make" (162).

The real blame lies of course with the "subtile traytours" themselves, the inhabitants of Meta Incognita, and, as suggested earlier, all subsequent representations of the Inuit appear in the context of this initial deception. After the loss of the five men, there exists a grave mistrust and skepticism surrounding the actions of the natives; the linguistic marker of this mistrust and skepticism is the word *seeming*, a word which appears with frequency throughout the Frobisher materials, and one which signals the huge discrepancy between the appearance and reality of Inuit conduct.[28] The people of Meta Incognita are "*séeming* greatly desirous of conference with vs" and, at the promise of a meeting with the English, they "*séemed* greatly to reioyce, skipping, laughing, and dauncing for ioy" (Best 58). These external affectations are of course never to be trusted. They are what set the cautious and experienced--and, for these reasons, feared, and mistrusted--Inuit apart from those other others, Orcadians and Greenlanders, of whom it can be said with greater ease and conviction that they "flée, as from the Enimie."

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The Frobisher materials repeatedly stress the fair treatment that the inhabitants of Meta Incognita received at English hands. Where natives did not receive such

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[28] According to the OED, 2nd. ed., the poet George Gascoigne first used the word *seeming* in 1576 to describe something "considered as deceptive, or as distinguished from reality; an illusion, a semblance." It is probably a coincidence that Gascoigne was a friend of Frobisher's (around 1575 the poet had shown the explorer a draft of Gilbert's "Discourse," as Gascoigne indicates in his preface to Gilbert's work [aa.ij.]).

treatment, contemporary writers, as in the case of Settle's description of the massacre at Bloody Point, employ elaborate discursive strategies in an effort to conceal or justify English actions which the Cathay Company might have scrutinized if not condemned. The kidnapping of Indians appears to have created an anxiety of its own kind for the English, perhaps because the act itself was ambiguously defined--politically and socially. Frobisher's instructions for the second voyage certainly authorized and condoned kidnapping, and in fact required him to take "iii or iiii or 8 or tenne" of the natives, including some children (qtd. in Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions 113). Organizers hoped that these kidnapped natives would eventually serve as translators, mediators, go-betweens, and bargaining tools.[29]

Michael Lok ends his narrative of the first voyage with this description of the excitement generated by the arrival of the first captive:

> And so [Frobisher and his crew] came to London with their ship Gabriel the ixth day of October and there were ioyfully received with the great admiration of the people, bringing with them their strange man and his bote, which was such a wonder onto the whole city and to the rest of the realm that heard of yt as seemed never to have happened the like great matter to any man's knowledge. (165)

Unfortunately, the captive died about a day after his arrival in London (Mullaney 67), despite the steps that Frobisher had taken to protect the life of the "sufficient witness," as Best calls him, of Frobisher's "far and tedious travel towards the unknown parts of

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[29] The literature on the subject of kidnapped Amerindians is vast but see in particular Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions *passim*; Hart, "Mediation" *passim*. Another reason for the removal of natives from their homeland was their exotic appeal in Elizabethan London and hence their value as marketable commodities. Shakespeare's Trinculo, for instance, referring to Caliban in The Tempest, alludes to the widespread practice of removing "strange beasts" from their homelands for economic gain: "A strange fish! Were I in England now, as once I was, and had but this fish painted, not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver: there would this monster make a man; any strange beast there makes a man" (2.2.27ff.). As Terence Hawkes notes, many editors have observed the slippery quality of the verb "make" here, where "The monster may become ranked as a man or, alternatively, a man can be "made" (i.e. made rich) by means of the monster" (27). Kidnapping natives for display was also a practice viewed with some measure of skepticism and derision. Trinculo laments that when the citizens of London "will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian" (2.2.32-34). On the contemporary practice of displaying Indians for profit, see the discussions in Lee, *passim*; Hawkes, "Swisser-Swatter: making a man of English letters"; Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions 121-22.

the world" (49).[30] Neither this Inuk nor those kidnapped on the voyage of 1577 lived long enough to yield any kind of strategic advantage in the New World or commercial profit in the Old. They nevertheless served the immediate purpose of generating much interest in subsequent expeditions for when the profitability of Meta Incognita's gold resources had not yet been verified and the existence of the Northwest Passage yet remained an inconclusive matter, the Inuk's physical presence gave Frobisher's claims a certain authenticity that they otherwise would have lacked. In his response dated January 26, 1578 to the auditors investigating the financial failure of Frobisher's expeditions, a penniless and embittered Michael Lok, seeking an explanation for the collapse, remarks that "when Martyn Furbusher was retorned hom againe, in October 1576, wth his strange man of Cataye, and his great rumor of the passage to Cathai, he was called to the courte and greatly embraced and lyked of the best" (185). Frobisher's "great rumor," verified by the presence of the Inuk, won the unanimous support of the Queen's Privy Council which extended its favour by authorizing, through the Cathay Company, a second expedition the following year. Lok's explanation of events is obviously a biased and oversimplified one, as the reasons for the mammoth financial disaster extend to a great many circumstances and persons, but he is nevertheless correct to suggest that the excitement generated by the hostage played a significant part in the disastrous speculation.

At the same time that kidnapping natives had its domestic and foreign political advantages the English were also aware that the removal of Indians, because it often resulted in hostile relations with others, made kidnapping a highly polemical imperial

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[30] The Cathay Company's financial records indicate payments of £1/10/6 "for household charge, [a]potticarye, in his sicknes & folke highered to tende him, & wynd him" and £5 "to mr. crowe the surgyon for openynge of the Indian man, & [em]balmyng him dead, preservid to have him bin sent backe againe in to his countrye" (qtd. in Sturtevant and Quinn 72). The records do not indicate why the English first embalmed the Indian and then decided against returning him to Meta Incognita. Greenblatt muses over the puzzle but gives no helpful suggestion (Marvelous Possessions 111). Knapp offers that the gesture was perhaps intended to prove to the Inuit that the English did not practise cannibalism. He adds that, like the paintings which the second male captive was shown in 1577, "the embalming derives from the desire at once to educate the Eskimos in their own finitude and mortality and to exhibit the uncanny preservative powers of the English" (An Empire Nowhere 293). The English likely decided against returning the man to his homeland fearing that the certainty of the man's death would intensify already hostile relations between the two peoples. Sturtevant and Quinn (81-84) detail Frobisher's considerable efforts to care for Kalicho and Arnaq, the male and female Inuit kidnapped on the 1577 voyage, whose healths rapidly deteriorated after their capture and arrival in England. See also the Latin report of the doctor whom Frobisher had hired, "*Doctor Doddyings* Report of the Sicknesse and Death of the Man at Bristoll w^{c} *Capt. Furbisher* brought from the North-west: and of the Nature of the Woman of that Contrie yet livynge" in Stefansson and McCaskill, eds., 2: 135-37.

strategy, particularly in those territories where settlement was an objective. Christopher Carleill's "A breef and sommarie discourse upon the entended voyage to the hethermost partes of America" (1583), for example, relates Cartier's kidnapping of natives in 1534 and forewarns readers of similar "outrage[ous] and injurious dealying[s which] put the whole countrey people into such dislike with the French" (32). "[I]njurious dealyings" such as Cartier's helped to distinguish English colonial policy and theory (if not practice) from those of their rival European nations,[31] and such dealings informed English policies like those mentioned above which insisted that travellers procure Amerindians' "frindships and good lykings . . . [rather] then move them to any offence or myslikinge." Of course, it hardly needs to be pointed out that an instruction ordering Frobisher and his men to secure the friendship of aboriginals utterly contradicts one requiring them to kidnap several natives.

The ambivalence that contemporary writers reflect on the subject of kidnapping natives seems to register this contradiction in formal policy. Lok, for instance, writes that Frobisher, after plucking the first captive out of the sea, "kept him withowt any shew of enmity, and made signes to him presently that yf he would bring his v men he should go again at liberty" (164-65). Lok's version of details supplied by Frobisher resonates with the explorer's insistence that he and his men treated the captive justly, and certainly, as Steven Mullaney has suggested, the death of the captive a day or so after arriving in London no doubt warranted Frobisher's defensiveness as to his treatment (67).[32] At the very least, Lok's comment is a variation on the fairness motif considered above. Yet at the same time that Lok stresses that the Inuk was not hurt, that he was told the conditions under which he would be granted his freedom, he also suggests an awareness of or defensiveness about an alternate course of action, one by which the man could just as easily have been treated *with* enmity, one by which he was *not* made aware of the conditions of his release. As Lok's narrative continues, we learn that the Inuk did not understand anything Frobisher had said to him, and that he was kept "with sure garde" for this very reason. What seems important is not whether or not the hostage understood the condition of his release but, rather, that this condition was "articulated" to him at all. In an action which recalls the Spanish *Requerimiento*,

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[31] The example of Spanish cruelty in the myth of the Black Legend was the most extreme way English imperialists sought to distinguish their form of intrusion from that of other European nations. See Hart, "The Black Legend."

[32] Especially in the context of the bizarre circumstances leading to the man's death, which Best is at some pains to explain: "[W]hen he founde himself in captiuitie, for very choller & disdain he bit his tong in twayne within his mouth: notwithstanding, he died not therof, but liued vntill he came in Englande, and then he died, of colde which he had taken at Sea" (50). Best's rendering of events, in particular the passive construction, "when he founde himself in captiuitie," diverts attention from the actions of his captors and almost makes the man's captivity appear accidental.

Frobisher "addressed" the native "in the presence of all the rest of his fellows" who were in their kayaks at the side of the ship (Lok, "Account of the First Voyage" 165), as if the presence of others somehow renders the hostage taking a legitimate one. In any case, the Inuit are made eyewitnesses to the fair play of the English and, by implication, they are made complicit in the captive's fate.

Representations of the woman, man, and child kidnapped on the second voyage not only reflect a desire to demonstrate this sense of fair play, but also suggest a treatment along strongly gendered lines. The woman, described by Best as "yong, & combred with a sucking childe at hir back," is an object of helplessness and pity, and a surgeon was immediately despatched to attend to her child's arm, which the English had accidentally wounded in the battle at Bloody Point. Not acquainted with western medicine, she wiped away the salve which the surgeon had applied, "& by co[n]tinuall licking with hir owne tongue, *not muche vnlike* our dogges, healed vppe the childes arme" (my emphasis, 68). This comparison, at the same time that it facilitates Best's description of the woman's wildness, nonetheless remains tentative. Comparisons in other contexts are employed to show that, on the whole, the inhabitants of Meta Incognita are practically indistinguishable from wild beasts. They make "greate outcries and noises, like so many Buls," they cry "like the mowing of bulls," make noises "like the howling of wolves or other beasts," and "hunte for their dinners or praye, euen as the Beare, or other wilde beastes do" (Best 58, 66, 68, 125; cf. Lok "Account of the First Voyage" 165). The woman's action, in contrast, described as "not muche vnlike our dogges" suggests a reticence to classify her in quite the same way as the collective Inuit body, a reluctance to say that her behaviour is unconditionally dog-like.

Perhaps not coincidentally, this is to my knowledge the only instance of litotes used thoughout the Frobisher narratives, and it is applied to the female captive, one of two Inuit women mentioned in these texts.[33] The ambivalence of the double negative stresses the idea that her femaleness sets her apart from the male captive captured a short time earlier, a distinction which Best's diction reinforces throughout the account. While he refers to the male prisoner as "Countriman," "straunge and newe praye," "our sauage Captiue," "sauage captiue," or "sauage," she is referred to throughout as simply "woman."[34] Her act of defiance in refusing treatment for her child, a refusing to

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[33] The other is an "old and ougly" woman captured at the same time but released for the reason that the English suspected she was a witch or devil. The crew in Settle's account even "plucked off her buskins, to sée, if she were clouen footed," an investigation for which the writer does not provide any conclusive results, saying only that "for her ougly hewe and deformitie, we let her goe: the young woman and the childe, we brought away" (17; cf. Best 68).

[34] The man and woman are once referred to as "those Sauage Captiues," however (Best 70). My reading of Best's use of the litote thus suggests an exception to the tendency of the device to affirm something, as MacLaren writes, "by the negation of its opposite. . . . [T]here is a narrative fastidiousness in the litotes ("not a disagreeable article of food") because the effect of

submit, that is, to English "mercy" for which Indians in other contexts are branded as unregenerate beasts, resonates for the English a kind of charm. The gloss in the margin emphasizes this charm by describing the woman's practice as "A prettie kind of Surgerie, whyche nature teacheth" (68).

This idealizing, patronizing depiction of an indigenous practice underscores the view that the Inuk woman's brand of savagery is somehow unique, or at least more acceptable than the man's, and this view augments her worth as a hostage to the travellers. When a group of Inuit appeared a few days later, the English, fully expecting that they had come to claim the woman and child only, interpreted and anticipated Inuit actions along deeply gendered and patriarchal lines. Frobisher removed the woman, the most valuable possession in English eyes (and hence believed to be equally esteemed by the Inuit), to a place where the natives "mighte best perceyue hir, in the highest place of the Ilande." He then approached the Inuit to tell them "by signes" that he would release the captives only if they returned the five men taken the previous year. Although Frobisher's strategy is unsuccessful, it further demonstrates English adherence to a policy of fair play at the same time that it justifies the retention of the kidnapped natives (70). In any case, the scene deepens our sense of the Old World presuppositions and expectations which came into play in the struggle for and representation of English hegemony in Meta Incognita.

5

The anxiety surrounding northern travel extends, as I have remarked, to a paranoia about being under surveillance in Meta Incognita. I want now to consider the sense of impotency and frustration that travel writings suggest in response to the Englishmen's inability to contain the threat of the savage other. Notably, the English show an explicit perturbation at repeated Inuit efforts to thwart their gestures of friendship. "[F]or all the signes of friendship we could make them," writes Best, "they came still créeping towards vs behinde the rockes, to gette more aduantage of vs" (74). Even more than perturbation, the English show an insecurity about being out-tricked and outwitted by the supposedly inferior savages. The travel writers construct a hyper vigilant stance in response, stressing, through a constant show of English surveillance of the Inuit watching them, a consistent upper hand. The natives crept toward the English, "*as though we had no eyes to sée them*, thinking belike, that our single wittes could not discouer so bare deuises and simple driftes of theyrs." "*We discerne[d]* of the[m] aboue one hundreth persons, and had cause to suspecte a greater number." "*We*

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this rhetorical figure is always more complex than its straightforward alternative: the fish are an agreeable article of food. . . . The superfluity, the circumlocution of the litotes erects a decorous discursive barrier between the observer and the observed, the figure of speech effectively shielding the explorer's civility from the taint of the savage custom, however ingenious" ("Exploration/Travel Literature" 47).

perceyue[d] a great multitude créeping behynde the Rockes." "*[I]t was to bée thoughte*, that they lay hydde in the hylles thereaboute, and obserued all the manner of oure procéedings" (my emphasis, Best 73-75).

In addition to reflecting paranoia about the dangers lurking in the northern wilderness, the close observations of the surreptitious movements of the savages seek to depict the thorough sense of English control in Meta Incognita. The English react discursively to what they cannot contain actually, and they do this in part, as Jeffrey Knapp suggests, by emphasizing that the civilized English simply see better than the savage Indians (An Empire Nowhere 122). The English portray themselves as always at least one step ahead of the Indians, their well-disciplined military engine never put off by the "subtile sleightes," "counterfeite pageants," "craftiest allurements," "craftie trickes," and "stratagemmes" devised by the "craftie counterfet villaines" (Settle 18-19). The English imagine themselves as superlative game players and they are astonished to encounter a people who refuse to acknowledge or yield to their self-proclaimed superiority in all things, a people who ever so blatantly and forcefully demonstrate an equal sense of their own superiority.

As we might expect, this astonishment translates into a need for the English to assert their superior military strength. Such was the case with one so-called "counterfeite pageant" which took place in 1577, when several Inuit tried to lure the English with a native pretending to have a wounded leg. Settle narrates the incident:

> Yet once againe, to make (as it were) a full shewe of their craftie natures, and subtile sleightes, to the intent thereby to haue intrapped and taken some of our men, one of them counterfeyted himselfe impotent and lame of his legges, who séemed to descend to the water side, with great difficultie: and to couer his crafte the more, one of his fellowes came downe with him, and in such places, where he séemed vnable to passe, hée tooke him on his shoulders, set him by the water side, and departed from him, leauing him (as it sould séeme) all alone, who playing his counterfeite pageant very well, thought thereby to prouoke some of vs to come on shoare. (19)[35]

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[35] Settle neglects to mention that this lame man was offered as food to the English, who were quite hungry according to George Best. Best narrates the scene at greater length: "to allure our hungry stomackes, [one of the savages] broughte vs a trimme bayte of raw flesh . . . but when the cunning Cater perceyued his first cold morssell could nothing sharpen our stomackes, he cast about for a new trayne of warme fleshe to procure our appetites, wherefore, he caused one of hys fellowes in halting manner, to come forth as a lame man from behind the rockes, and the better to declare his kindnesse in caruing, he hoysed him vppon his shoulders, and bringing him hard to the water side where we were, left him there lymping, as an easie pray to be taken of vs. His hope was, that we would bite at this bayte, & spedily leape a shore within their danger, whereby they might haue apprehended some of vs, to raunsome theyr friendes home againe, which before we had taken: but I doubt, our flesh is so swéet meate for them, that they will

Such tricks and games, thought also to be practised by wild men, confirm for the English the savage nature of the inhabitants. "Their craftie dealing," Settle argues by analogy, "maye plainely shewe, their disposition in other thinges to be correspondent." The gloss in the margin emphasizes, "By these craftie trickes the rest of their life is easy to be iudged" (19). Thomas Churchyard claims that the "dissemblying polliccie to seeme lame" illustrates the "hardie and brutishe maner of the people." He continues: "[T]hey have no skill of submission, nor will not learn to knowe the courtezie of a Conqueror which resolution in them (though barbarous it seeme) showes a settled opinion thei have in their force and liberties, and utters a miraculous manlinesse to abound in that brutish nation" (qtd. in Stefansson and McCaskill, eds., appendix 5, 2: 231).

These highly ambivalent last words, from which the title to this chapter comes, reveal on the one hand an utter astonishment in the face of savage obstinacy, and on the other a kind of admiration for the strength and will of the inhabitants of Meta Incognita.[36] Predictably, the English interpret the "resolution" of the Inuit as a marker of their brutishness, a reading which justifies military and disciplinary action. "Our Generall," writes Settle,

> havuing compassion of his [the lame man's] impotencie, thought good (if it were possible) to cure him therof: wherfore, hée caused a souldiour to shoote at him with his Caléeuer, which grased before his face. The counterfeite villeine deliuerly fled, without any impediment at all, and gott him to his bowe and arrowes, and the rest [of the Inuit came] from their lurking holes, with their weapons, bowes, arrowes, slings, and dartes. (19)

The military and discursive strategy is aimed at revealing the "counterfeite villeine" for the impostor he truly is. Frobisher, fearing an attack, next ordered his soldiers to fire at

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hardly part from so good morsels, if we come once nere their hãdling" (75). It is not clear why Settle fails to mention any of this alimentary context. Nor does he indicate elsewhere, as Best does (68), that the Inuit suspected the English of cannibalism.

[36] Churchyard's admiration hints at a sentiment found in the Protestant literature beginning to take shape around the time the Frobisher narratives first appeared. Marcel Bataillon has called this literature, which ranges from Jean de Léry's *Histoire du Brésil* and Urbain Chauveton's *Histoire nouvelle du Nouveau Monde* to Théodore de Bry's America series and Montaigne's "Of Cannibals" and "Of Coaches," the "Huguenot corpus on America" (qtd. in Lestringant "The Philosopher's Breviary" 127). Lestringant identifies one of the strains of this literature as a defense of the "free and happy savage, whom the bloody conquerors should have left to his native ignorance, even at the risk of his eternal damnation" ("The Philosopher's Breviary" 128).

the natives, "whereby some being hurt, they mighte hereafter stand in more feare of vs" (19). Native game playing even provoked the somewhat more pacific George Best to consider that Frobisher's joke was all the more worthwhile because the savage was shot somewhere other than his face, so that he could run away "a true and no fained Criple" (75; cf. Knapp, An Empire Nowhere 293). Settle's comic disclosure conveys the perceptive capabilities of the English and the containment of the brutes who will "hereafter stand in more feare of vs." Native trickery is met with a show of English cunning and force in order to demonstrate (textually and to the English at least) hegemony over American peoples, although conflicting accounts of this incident suggest that this hegemony was not as certain as Settle would like his audience to believe.[37]

Associated with the control and containment of alien and possibly threatening forces is the unparalleled emphasis in the Frobisher materials on the need for the English to maintain order and discipline within their own ranks. Sometimes this need reaches absurd proportions, as on July 23, 1577 when Frobisher "required euery man to be conformable to order" and then made them, for no apparent reason other than to ensure their discipline, march five miles to the top of an icy, steep, and treacherous mountain (Best 62). This need to reinforce order and discipline is particularly intense beginning on the second expedition, not only because of the experiences and losses of the first voyage, but also because of the change in agenda from geographical exploration to mineral exploitation in Meta Incognita.[38] These factors had a markedly negative impact on English perceptions of the inhabitants, although it is difficult to discern whether this negative impact was more the result of English anxiety over gold and loss of lives or of travel writers' efforts to blame natives as a means of justifying or

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[37] Best again provides a more detailed and vastly different account of the conflict, one in which the threat of the other is not so tidily contained and easily resolved. After the "Criple . . . hathe learned his lesson," the English were attacked by his fellows. Although no English were killed in the skirmish, Best states that the natives fought "very fiercely . . . and with as desperate minde as hath bin séene in any men, without feare of shotte or any thing." According to Best this conflict in fact provoked the English to gather hastily two hundred tons of "golde ore" and depart from Meta Incognita (75). According to Settle's account the two hundred tons were collected *prior* to the conflict (18).

[38] Frobisher does not appear to have been given any formal set of instructions relating to the first expedition, although he certainly was for the second and third voyages. The loss of the five men who had gone ashore to trade privately with the Inuit, as well as the supposed discovery of gold, clearly intensified investors' concerns about the potential loss of both men and ore. Items one and two of the "Orders set down by M. Frobisher Esquire" on August 2, 1578, for example, prohibit unauthorized conferences with the Indians and the collection of precious metals and other potentially valuable commodities (rpt. in Best 103-04).

praising English actions. For instance, George Best states that on the evening of August 6, 1577,

> bycause the people were very néere vnto vs, the Lieutenaunte caused the Trumpet to sounde a call, and euerie man in the Ilande repayring to the Auntiente, hée putte them in mynde of the place so farr from theyr Countrey wherein they lyued, and the daunger of a multitude whyche they were subiect vnto, if good watche and warde were not kepte, for at euerie lowe water, the Enimie myghte come almost dryfoote from the mayne vnto vs, wherefore, hée wylled euerye man to prepare hym in good readynesse vppon all suddayne occasions, and so giuing the watch their charge, the company departed to rest. (71)

This passage clearly reflects an anxiety about the close proximity and large number of Inuit, and about the Englishmen's status as travellers in a land "so farre from theyr Countrey wherein they lyued." It gives voice as well to the more general fear that the English might be made subject to the very people over whom they are seeking to exercise authority.

It is also important to observe where this passage occurs in the text, however, as it is followed by a reminder of the five men who went missing, a reminder which is in turn followed by mention of the construction of a fort on Kodlunarn Island (72). This fort was in fact named "Best's Bulwark," after the captain who had drummed up the idea of erecting it to defend the English against the increasingly hostile Inuit (Fitzhugh 79). The above passage thus facilitates Best's own self-aggrandizement: his representation of the dangerous multitude both justifies and promotes his own martial actions and contributions in the New World. It is thus impossible to say that the rhetoric of blame serves *a* particular function, since, as we shall see more fully in chapter three, motivations like private profit and promotion blur with other, more widespread ideological and mythological conceptions of savage and monstrous races.

The performative function that order and discipline serves in Meta Incognita is arguably less ambiguous. "On Sunday the twelfth of August," Best writes of the second expedition:

> Captayne Fenton trayned the companye, and made the Souldyoures maineteyne skyrmishe among themselues, as well for theyr exercise, as for the Countrey people to beholde in what readynesse oure menne were alwayes to bée founde, for it was to bée thoughte, that they lay hydde in the hylles thereaboute, and obserued all the manner of oure procéedings. (74)

The need to be observed is a fundamental characteristic of the English intrusion into Meta Incognita for much of how the English perceive their own strengths, technologies, and capabilities in the New World has to do with how closely and persistently they

believe that they are being watched by the inhabitants. The "skyrmishe" asserts, to the English if not to the Inuit, that Frobisher's men are consummate explorers.

We have seen in the case of the "fair" and "friendly" treatment of natives that the Frobisher narratives exhibit an anxiety about how the royal and mercantile audiences will view English actions in the New World. Likewise, the staging of military exercises (or, more accurately, the narrating of them) seeks to engage patron readers by emphasizing that English conduct is congruous with formal policy and expectation. Best tells us that Frobisher, following his return from the second voyage, was greeted at court where he received the praise and gratitude of the monarch. In addition to expressing her "great thanks" to Frobisher and his men for their "dãgerous toyling and painefull attempte," the queen especially lauded the fact that "among them there was so good order of gouernement, so good agreément, euerye man so readye in his calling, to doe whatsoeuer the General should commaunde" (80). As observers-within (and without)-the-text, the Inuit in Best's narrative thus help draw attention to the well-ordered and disciplined English. The silence and invisibility of the natives are never called into question, although their non presence enables what Marjorie Garber calls the strategy of estrangement, "the identification of an other against which the self may be not only measured but defined and demarcated" (viii). The construction of the Indian as both enemy and observer authenticates and legitimizes English order and discipline in Meta Incognita. And the approval of the queen in turn encourages and engenders martial actions on both the New World and textual stages. Best writes that Her Majesty's praise "gaue so greate encouragement to al the Captaines & Gentlemen, thay they, to continue hir highness so good and honorable opinion of them, haue since neither spared laboure, limme, nor life" (80). Accounts of these heroic efforts in the face of an enemy landscape and people are of course written into and help to constitute the Frobisher narratives.

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The Frobisher narratives are, despite the efforts and intentions of their writers to elevate the explorer and his crew to heroic status, records of a dismal and catastrophic failure, which the historical record ever so clearly and tangibly marks, not only because the 1,200 tons of black rock shipped home on the final voyage are today lying at the bottom of the Thames, but also because the Frobisher narratives were written in large part as a compensatory and defensive gesture. They were written to project the idea of English hegemony over a wealthy land and its peoples at a time when such control (and projected wealth) was a highly contested matter. The Frobisher narratives were also produced to establish the notion of a well-ordered and disciplined military engine, one that practised, as it had been instructed to practise, a "fair" and "friendly" treatment of natives. As a result of such conflicting agendas the narratives appear defensive, anxious, preoccupied with how they will be read and interpreted. The Frobisher writers had very good reason to be concerned: their leader's final actions in the New World bespeak a tremendous sense of abandonment and failure.

I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter that Frobisher had been instructed to leave a colony of one hundred men in Meta Incognita under the charge of Captain Fenton. The reasons for his failure to do so are ambiguous. The formal, recorded explanations are twofold: first, that several of the materials of the house which was to be erected were damaged by the sea and ice during the voyage to Meta Incognita; and, second, that there was an inadequate store of provisions to serve one hundred men for a year (Best 105). These reasons tell only part of the story; certainly they did not satisfy the queen, nor other investors in the Cathay Company, who, in "The Abuses of *Captayn Furbusher* agaynst the Companye," accused Frobisher of defying his commission to plant Fenton and the others. They claimed that Frobisher had decided, even before setting out from London in 1578, against the planned settlement, and that, having arrived in Meta Incognita, he refused Fenton even half the intended men and provisions, "feringe that C[aptain] Fentons deede therin woulde dashe his [Frobisher's] glorye" (209). It is also likely that the unstated reasons for this failure to abide by the adventurers' instructions included the men's widespread reluctance, due to the dangerous and unwelcoming living conditions in the North, to remain in Meta Incognita.

Since Frobisher had abandoned any thought of establishing a colony, what steps had he taken to ensure the eventual civilizing and conversion of their transatlantic possessions, those whom Best in his preamble to the "True Discourse" refers to as "our people of Meta Incognita (of whome and for whome thys discourse is taken in hande)" (34)? In a rather bizarre and piteous arms-in-the-air-like gesture of frustration, the English on August 30, 1578 finished constructing Fenton's Watchtower, a small house made of lime and stone on Countess of Warwick (Kodlunarn) Island. In this structure,

> [a]nd the better to allure those brutish & vnciuill people to courtesie, againste other times of our comming, we left therein dyuers of oure countrie toyes, as belles, and kniues, wherein they specially delight, one for the necessarie vse, and the other for the great pleasure thereof. Also pictures of men & women in lead, men a horsebacke, lookinglasses, whistles, and pipes. Also in the house was made an ouen, and breade lefte baked therein, for them to sée and taste. (Best 116)

Leaving behind these traces of English civilization, the trifles and technologies which the English hoped the inhabitants would find both pleasing and alluring, the travellers prepared to return to England. Before departing they emptied their ships of the timber for the intended fort in order to make room for more "gold," of which, Best says, "we holde of farre greater price." Throughout his discourse, Best's language is that of reconciliation and abandonment. In a dramatic reversal of outcomes in which the first permanent structure built by the English in America, constructed during the initiative which was intended as a major challenge to the New World conquests of England's rival nations, is erected for the Inuit and not for the English, Best's discursive strategy seeks to ward off any potential outcry against Frobisher's colonial disaster. It does so by

representing this abandonment as a marker of English achievement in the New World, the allure of something--gold--"whiche we holde of farre greater price."

Perhaps the more serious acknowledgment of failure in Meta Incognita, the phrase "*the better* to allure those brutish & vnciuill people to courtesie" (my emphasis) highlights the sense of defeat and frustration if not anxiety in this defeat.[39] The phrase, which functions in part to justify the act of leaving a house filled with the materials of English culture to the will and whim of the savages, seeks to conceal the fact that the *presence* of the English could in no way bring the Inuit to the kind of "familiarity" (and hence under the kind of control) that the English so ardently desired and sought. And nor could Frobisher, evidently under considerable internal and external pressures to do so on the first and second expeditions, round up any more natives to take home on the third, a failure which the English are at pains to justify.[40] "[T]hey being nowe growen more wary by their former losses, woulde not at any time come within our daungers" (Best 115). "The people are nowe become so warye, and so circumspecte, by reason of their former losses, that by no means we can apprehend any of them, althoughe we attempted oft in this laste voyage. But to saye truth, we could not bestowe any great time in pursuing them, bycause of oure greate business in lading ["gold"], and other things" (129). This final sentence, beginning with the promise of truthful articulation but ending in opacity and vagueness instantiates still another moment of English futility and ineffectiveness, as well as the writer's need to disavow this futility and ineffectiveness.

At the beginning of the "Trve Discovrse," George Best states that one of the chief lessons he hopes readers will take from his work is how to "procéede and deale with straunge people, be they neuer so barbarous, cruell and fierce, eyther by lenitie or otherwise" (4). Although an ostensible, working objective which was no doubt pleasing to ideologists of the emerging colonialism, the discursive practices and strategies of

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[39] Greenblatt states that "Frobisher thought perhaps that the structure, like the crosses and coats of arms left on other shores, would serve as a sign of English occupation and hence possession. In order 'to allure those brutish and uncivill people to courtesie,' writes Best, the house was filled with trifles" (Marvelous Possessions 118). In omitting the words "the better" from the beginning of the phrase, Greenblatt obscures the comparison Best seems to be making between unsuccessful past and present strategies in dealing with the indigenes.

[40] I have already looked at the instructions for the second voyage which ordered Frobisher to return to England with "iii or iiii or 8 or tenne" natives (qtd. in Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions 113). In his account of the first voyage, Michael Lok writes of the "great perplexity and sorrow" Frobisher experienced after the loss of his five men. The explorer was evidently "more willing to dy than to lyve in that state" unless he could return to England with "evidens or token of any place whereby to certify the world where he had byn" (163). While Lok's remark is undoubtedly exaggerated, it nonetheless underscores the importance of kidnapped natives to Frobisher.

Best and his colleagues suggest rather an ambivalence in the face of an experienced people. Representations of kidnapped Indians are a particularly fascinating case in point. And at the same time that these images register tensions and anxieties to do with northern travel, they suggest additionally a surprising willingness on the part of authors to engage the newness of close contact and experience with others, as well as a growing awareness of the inadequacy of western European models concerning barbaric and monstrous races.

We first notice that the impulse to assert discursively English hegemony in Meta Incognita is augmented in a dramatic way in relation to these captives. To express the subjugation of the prisoners, travel writers employ two quite different representational strategies. The more obvious of the two involves a linguistic celebration of the moment of Inuit capture. While the very act of capturing a member of the enemy camp necessarily demonstrates a certain victory and an immediate sense of one-upmanship, the English play up this aspect of their American performance so that every capture is depicted as a terrific moral and martial achievement. Best writes that, after the savages had betrayed the English by capturing five of their men, Frobisher, bereft of his pinnace and five men, and desperately wanting an Indian as a "token" of his travels to the New World, "wrought a prettie pollicie" in order to "deceiue the deceiuers":

> Knowing well how they greatly delighted in our toyes, and specially in belles, he rang a pretie Lowbel, making wise [that] he would giue him the same that would come and fetch it. And bycause they would, not come within his daunger for feare, he flung one bell vnto the[m], which of purpose he threw short, that it might fal into the sea and be lost. And to make them more gréedie of the matter, he rang a lowder bell, so that in the ende one of them came neare the ship side, to receiue the bell, which when he thought to take at the Captaines hand, he was therby taken himself. For the Captain being redily prouided, let the bel fal, & cought the man fast, & plucked him with maine force, boate and al into his bark, out of the Sea. (50)

Frobisher's success here derives from his masterly powers of foresight. At every stage he actively and accurately anticipates the distinctly less active and intelligent Inuk's reactions. Each of Frobisher's observations and movements is purposeful, up to and including the inevitable moment when "redily prouided" he plucked the Inuk kayak and all out of the water. There is nothing surprising about the celebratory tone of this passage: we fully expect that Frobisher, who demonstrates throughout Best's narrative "A valiant mynde" and "courage (more than a man)," will prove victorious in his dealings with others (Best 64, 98; Lok 163). This is the travel narrative as heroic biography, as the material for national epic and allegory.

Predictably, the moment of the three subsequent kidnappings, though very different in circumstances, is each presented in a similar celebratory manner (see Best 60, 68). The fact that each of these kidnappings is witnessed by a group of Indians

renders the celebration of their taking all the richer. Narrating the capture of the first prisoner, for example, Michael Lok gloats:

> [t]his was done in the presence of *all* the rest of his fellows being within an arrow shote of the ship, whereat they were *all* marveilously amased and thereopon presently cast them selves into counsell and so departed in great haste toward the land with great hallowing or howling showts after their manner; like the howling of wolves or other beasts in the woods. (my emphasis, "Account of the First Voyage" 165; cf. Best 70)

Not only are the English again able to disclose, through another show of superior intellect and perceptibility, the true savage nature of the Inuit, but also the beast-like cries and howls of the natives stand as testimony of and witness to the English performance. And it is of course significant to Lok that no less than *all* the man's fellows are present to marvel at this display of superiority and one-upmanship.

The second discursive strategy involves what seems a containment and disavowal of English anxiety centring on the physical presence of the Inuit other. The focus of the Frobisher narratives shifts from an acute awareness of an unlocalized, general threat of being under surveillance in the New World to an intensely detailed observation of the kidnapped prisoners. Consider Best's remarkably elaborate description of the two captives' first meeting and subsequent interactions:

> Hauing now got a woman captiue for the comforte of our man, we broughte them both togither, and euery man with silence desired to beholde the manner of their méeting and entertaynement, the whiche was more worth the beholding, than can be well expressed by writing. At theyr first encountring, they behelde each the other very wistly a good space, without spéeche or worde vttered, with greate change of coloure and countenaunce, as though it séemed, the gréefe and disdeyne of their captiuitie had taken away the vse of their tongs and vtterance: the woman at the first verie suddaynely, as though she disdeyned or regarded not the man, turned away, and beganne to sing, as though she minded another matter: but being agayne broughte togyther, the man brake vp the silence first, and with sterne and stayed countenance, beganne to tell a long solemne tale to the woman, wherevnto she gaue good hearing, and interrupted him nothing, till he had finished, & afterwards, being growen into more familiar acquayntance by spéech, were turned togither, so that (I thinke) the one would hardly haue liued, without the comfort of the other. And, for so much as we coulde perceiue, albeit they liued continually togither, yet did they neuer vse as man and wife, though the woman spared not to do all necessarie things that apperteyned to a good huswife indifferently for them both, as in making cleane their Cabin, and euery other thing that apperteyned to his ease: for when hée was

> Seasicke, shée would make him cleane, she would kill and flea ye Dogges for their eating, and dresse his meate. Only I thinke it worth the noting, the continencie of them both, for the man would neuer shift himselfe, except he had firste caused the woman to depart out of his Cabin, and they both were most shamefast, least anye of their priuie parts should bée discouered, eyther of themselues, or any other body. (69-70)

This passage is particularly disturbing in its attempt to pass off an essentially voyeuristic and vicarious experience, a spin-off as it were of what seems to be an imperial fantasy in action, as an altruistic gesture, one brought about "for the comfort of our man."[41] The passage certainly illuminates the desires of "euery man" who gazed in expectant silence as if the experiment (or demonstration) of the Arctic peepshow would inevitably result in the copulation of the man and woman, thus confirming the European expectation of the sexually uncontrollable New World savage. If the passage seems to say something about the expectations and desires of the firsthand observers, it also says something about the contemporary (male) audience, or at least Best's perception of that audience. Using the inexpressibility topos to express the idea that words cannot describe the captives' meeting, that you had to have been there, Best encourages his audience to participate in the "beholding" of the man and woman as they "behelde each the other."[42] The author is thus able to play with the expectations and desires of the internal and external audience by turning the description of the meeting of the two captives, presumably the precursor to their (sexual) "entertaynement," into an exemplum on sexual abstinence, a lesson Samuel Purchas emphasized when he appropriated the Frobisher materials in the *Pilgrimage* of 1613: "strange were the gestures and behauiour of this man and the woman . . . put into the same Cabin . . . as might be a shame to Christians to come so farre short of them" (Hhh3).[43]

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[41] Describing Freud's concept of scopophilia, the pleasure in looking, Laura Mulvey reminds us that the look, curious and pleasurable in form, can also be controlling and threatening in content (see esp. 16, 19).

[42] This layering of onlookers reminds me of 5.2 in Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida (c. 1603[?]; publ. 1609) where the audience watches Thersites peeping on Ulysses and Troilus spying on Cressida and Diomed. Contributing to the "pleasure" and tension of Shakespeare's scene (in a way quite similar to that of Best's) is a wanton sexuality largely determined by past textual authority, by, that is, Shakespeare's sources for the love story in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde and Robert Henryson's sequel, The Testament of Cresseid (which up to 1721 was printed as Chaucer's).

[43] Best's "entertainment" scene seems to have been of particular interest to writers for years to come. Nearly sixty years after the publication of Best's "Trve Discovrse," Luke Fox in "North-West Fox, or Fox from the North-west passage" (1635) quoted the meeting of the two captives

From the moment of their capture the Inuk man and woman are perceived as English possessions, but in such a way that the mere fact of the physical control of their bodies does not seem to convey for the English a sufficiently adequate sense of their subjugation. In order to depict the appearance of the male captive's thorough possession, Best interprets and appropriates his response to external phenomena. In an earlier scene the captive, suspected of having knowledge of the five Englishmen who had disappeared the year before, was shown two pictures of the native with whom the English returned to England the previous year. According to Best, one drawing depicted the Inuk onboard the very ship upon which the present hostage sailed and the other was a picture of the captive in English apparel.[44] Seeing these pictures, the present hostage

> was vpon the suddayne muche amazed therat, & beholding advisedly the same with silence a good while, as though he would streyne courtesie whether should begin ye spéech (for he thoughte him no doubte a liuely creature) at length, begã to questiõ with him, as with his companion, & finding him dumme & mute, semed to suspect him, as one disdeynful, & wold w[ith] a little help haue grow[en] into choller at y[e] matter vntill at last by féeling and handling, he founde him but a deceiuing picture. And then with great noyse and cryes, ceased not wondering, thinking that we could make menne liue or die at our pleasure. (65)

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exactly as it appears in the original, while he paraphrased very briefly the text's apparently less-notable incidents (22ff.).

[44] Steven Mullaney (67) incorrectly attributes these two drawings to Lucas de Heere, a Protestant refugee living in London in 1577. According to financial records relating to Frobisher's first voyage, these drawings were painted by Cornelis Ketel, a Flemish painter also living in London at the time. Ketel charged £1 each for "small pictures" of the Inuit, of which he seems to have drawn five: one "in Englishe ap[par]ell" and four "in his [native] apparell." One of the latter is specified as for the queen and one is for the Cathay Company which sponsored the voyage. Ketel also painted a full-length portrait, for which he charged £5. Lok refers to this portrait as "a great picture of the whole bodye of the strainge man in his garments." Unfortunately none of these drawings have survived (see Sturtevant and Quinn 73). P.H. Hulton in "John White's Drawings of Eskimos" reproduces White's surviving illustrations of the three Inuit brought back to Bristol in 1577. In America 1585 he argues that White accompanied Frobisher on the second voyage (8), an argument which Olive P. Dickason supports (16). White is not recorded as a member of the ships' complement in 1577, however, and there is no solid evidence, I agree with Donald Hogarth (16), that White was in fact on this expedition.

Best thus uses an imagined response to the drawings in order to reduce the Inuk (the one in the text at least) to the point where he understood that his very existence rested in the hands of his otherworldly captors. The irony of this conclusion--for what captor does not wield such power?--is lost on Best, and so is the possibility of multiple interpretations of his reaction, of which there are of course many. Given that the two men were taken from roughly the same area, there is a good possibility, for example, that the Inuk was grieving at the loss of a loved one or friend whom he recognized in the drawing. He may also have been grieving at his anticipated fate, the cultural alienation he was about to experience as suggested to him in the "before" and "after" pictures presented by his captors. In fact, since Best observes that this same captive "knewe very well" the European technology of writing (70), it is not improbable that he was also acquainted with the technology of drawing. In any case, since we have no way of knowing what was on the Inuk's mind, what is important here is the manner in which Best narrates the captive's reactions to the drawings. The passage tells us very little about the captive, but it speaks volumes about the representational technology of his oppressors.

Among their possible uses, the drawings function in Best's text as minimal narrative or, more technically, as the rhetorical and narrative topos known as *ekphrasis*, "the verbal description of a work of fine art" (Wilson 35).[45] There is also a kind of narrative being told, or at least implied, in the cultural reconfiguration the first captive has undergone in the temporal passage between these two before and after pictures. Without saying a word of this passage, Best conveys a story of capture and confinement, and, in the prisoner's new English dress, of cultural translation and conversion. This narrative exists more as an imaginary than as a tangible literary artifact but it nonetheless shapes a kind of *mise en abyme*.[46] The before and after drawings dramatize to the reader, if not to the captive, the power and potential of the English radically to affect the lives and fortunes of others. Of course, the gesture is an empty, self-congratulatory one in which the ocular proof of their own power and potential brings the English a more certain kind of comfort and reassurance than it brings the hostage a definite grief or upset.

Best's narrative appropriates the native's reactions to the pictures not only on a cognitive level but also on physical and emotive levels by bestowing upon him the gestures, manners, and mannerisms of the colonizer. The Inuk's initial silence is construed as an indication that he was "beholding aduisedly [the man in the picture]

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[45] Rawdon Wilson gives as the primary instance of *ekphrasis* Homer's description of Achilles' shield in book 18 of the *Iliad*. See his bibliography of several useful studies of this topos in the Renaissance (224-25).

[46] The *mise en abyme* I see in play here tells a story on a hypodiegetic level but one which, rather than offering what Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan in a description of this device calls the "reduplication of the diegetic" (93), seems to function more in a proleptic capacity.

with silence a good while, as though he would streyne courtesie whether shoulde begin ye spéech." The effect is to naturalize the subject by inscribing over his own reactions the colonizer's own customary modes of perceiving, thinking, and expressing. Best's disavowal of any other interpretation shows a need to reinforce on every possible level the idea of the man's subjugation. The representation is thoroughly cruel and disturbing. It gloats in the ability of the technology to take away and grant both expression and life to the savage. The focalization of the representation is crucial: the captive's recognition, his own eyewitnessing as it were of his captor's power, demonstrates the eradication of his will and the consequent fact of his total subjugation.

What is the motive for this profound need to appropriate the savage's response (disavowing all other possible interpretations) and to insist on and dramatize his utter oppression? Best's discursive strategy seems aimed at containing the alien and potentially threatening force that the captive represents. In the context, the strategy betrays some anxiety at the potential loss of power or control in that the English showed the pictures to the native after the man's apparent attempt to communicate his captivity to his fellows through the use of a symbol comprised of small sticks. At an abandoned Inuit encampment, writes Best,

> [The captive] stayd himselfe alone behind the cõpany [of English], & did set vp fiue small stickes round in a circle, one by another, with one smal bone placed iust in y[e] middest of all: which thing when one of our men perceiued, he called vs backe to behold the matter, thinking that he had meant some charme or witchcraft therin. But y[e] best cõiecture we could make thereof, was, that he would thereby his Countreym[en] should vnderstand, [that] for our fiue m[en] which they betrayed the last year (whome he signified by y[e] fiue stickes) he was taken & kept prisoner, which he signified by y[e] bone in y[e] midst. (65)

Best's interpretation of the Inuk's intentions and actions here is dubious for indeed the prisoner's effort to communicate (if in fact this is what it was) could have been taken in any number of ways (cf. Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions 114). What is clear, however, is that his behaviour led the travellers to suspect that their captive had some knowledge of the missing men, and that this suspicion motivated them to show the pictures to the captive. Perhaps it was a communicative gesture, an attempt to confirm to him the synechdocal link among the disappearance of the five men, the disappearance of last year's Inuk, and the prisoner's own present captivity, a link in which he played the most current role. It may also have been a retaliatory gesture, a desire on the part of the English to outdo the insubordinate savage by showing him a superior representational technology, a technology exceedingly more advanced than the crude sticks and bones of primitive, symbolic forms of communication, one so lifelike that it leaves no margin between what is signified and the thing itself.

What matters is not so much why the English showed him the drawings as the fact that Best relates the detail at all, as well as the way he sets up his narrative.

Rawdon Wilson points out in the context of Renaissance dramatic narrative that stories can be told in such a way as to include as few or as many details as the writer selects (35). Wilson's observation is also apt for prose narrative, and perhaps especially true of a prose narrative such as travel writing that passes itself off as fact when its truth-claims are a matter for serious contestation. Best certainly could have informed the audience that the Inuk had knowledge of the five men without including the captive's (interpreted) responses to the pictures. But the *mise en abyme* enables the author to make the transition so as to laud the actions of the English in America and celebrate, in the process, the power of the European technology to transfix, transform, and subjugate others. When the savage discovers that a fissure exists between the object and the reality, it produces in him a profound sense of wonder and amazement at the otherworldly powers of the English: "And then with great noyse and cryes, ceased not wondering, thinking that we coulde make menne liue or die at our pleasure."

This self-congratulatory "proof" of western technological sophistication and supremacy, this textual reduction of the savage other, is followed quite matter-of-factly by the prisoner's "admission" of knowledge and complicity:

> And therevppon calling the matter to hys remembrance, he gaue vs plainely to vnderstande by signes, that he hadde knowlege of the taking of our fiue men the last yeare, and confessing the manner of eche thing, numbred the fiue men vpon his fiue fingers, and poynted vnto a boate in our ship, which was like vnto that wherein our men were betrayed. And when we made him signes, that they were slaine and eaten, he earnestly denied, and made signes to the contrarie. (Best 65-66).

We realize, of course, that the man in fact gives away remarkably little here, that his "confession" amounts only to vague details--five men and a boat to be precise, counted out on fingers and pointed at--which in reality lead the English absolutely nowhere to look for their men. And the irony of the captive's vehement denial that the natives had murdered and feasted upon their English prisoners is entirely lost on Best. (Even if it were the case that the five men had been eaten, what was the Inuk supposed to do in the circumstances, tell his captors, whom *he* suspected were cannibals, that, yes, his friends had indeed slain and eaten theirs?--surely not a wise way for him to safeguard his hoped-for passage home!) Best's discursive strategy thus works to disavow any motivation or agency on the part of the savage subject; it aggrandizes the English by reducing the savage, praises the one by blaming the other, and then skirts over any complexities and contradictions raised in the text by briskly moving on to the next incident, the next story to be told, one which takes place two days later in another location, peopled by a different set of characters.

These, then, are a few of the representational practices and strategies by which the English seek to convey the impression of the containment and naturalization of the savage who, through the appropriation of his words, beliefs, and actions, becomes linguistically as well as physically a possession of English making. Returning to Best's

narrative of the "méeting and entertaynement" of the two captives, we find that the author casts them in a distinctly familiar light, one readily recognizable to the contemporary audience, that of two Petrarchan-like lovers, she the coy and seemingly disdainful young woman and he the "courtly lover" who attempts through discourse to bring the woman to familiarity. As we have seen, though, Best derails the expectations of his audience by turning their chastity into a lesson on sexual abstinence. His depiction of savages who shed their barbaric features the moment they are captured by the English is heavily romanticized and feeds into the English vogue for wild men, wodewoses, and other such creatures in royal entertainments and pageants, which was strong beginning in the mid-sixteenth century. In fact, Queen Elizabeth, a key player in the Frobisher expeditions, had a widely-known interest in these mythical and folkloric creatures, especially in their potential to illustrate the regenerative and transformative powers of the sovereign.[47] Such a metamorphosis seems to take place in relation to the savage captives of Best's text, with the English, especially Frobisher, functioning as a synecdoche of royal power and authority. The two Inuit captives' otherworldliness is thus reduced to something "civilized," familiar, domestic, entirely non threatening.

The domesticization of the two Inuit reflects the didactic value of the savage (as a character within a text) to point out the faults inherent in Western ways of thinking and behaving. This trope, evident in many European discourses on the New World and its peoples since Columbus, receives its fullest expression in Montaigne's "Of Cannibals," first published in the Essays of 1580. Here Montaigne raises the Brazilian

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[47] Elizabeth had witnessed, for example, the introduction of wodewoses into the English theatre proper in a 1561 performance of Sackville and Norton's Gorboduc (Goldsmith 481-91). The reformation of the wild man in the face of the virtuous lady is a standard topos in the Renaissance, seen in Bremo's capitulation to Amadine in the anonymous drama Mucedorus (1595) and in Serena's taming of the Salvage Man in Spenser's Faerie Queene. The extension of this topos, the English monarch's absolute authority over both nation and others, finds its most polemical expression in Shakespeare's The Tempest. By the late sixteenth century, wild men and wodewoses had merged with and replaced sylvans and satyrs from classical literature. Ben Jonson's Oberon the Fairy Prince (1611) marks a distinct break from the classical tradition, demonstrating the ability of king and court to reform a bad lot of lecherous woodland folk. Silenus instructs these creatures to prepare for the fairy prince, Oberon (James I), the "height of all our race" (line 47). Sound, instructive advice comes from a wodewose armed with a club and dressed in leaves who tells the revellers that this evening they are to pay homage to the British court and give "ceremony due to Arthur's chair/for our bright master, Oberon the fair" (lines 240-42). A welter of heterogeneous source materials--wild men, wodewoses, satyrs, fauns, mythical and monstrous creatures from Solinus, Pliny, Herodotus, Mandeville and so on--informed the iconographical and lexical apparatii of dramatic and nondramatic writers during the Renaissance. These creatures combined with and were confused with Amerindians as information about the New World disseminated throughout Western Europe. See the various discussions in Hodgen; Campbell; Dickason; Goldsmith; and Orgel, ed.

cannibals, the Tupinikin of Rio de Janeiro whom André Thevet and Jean de Léry had described before him, to what Frank Lestringant calls "the rank of an ideal" by attributing to them voices with which they "speak out" against France's social inequalities, injustices, and lack of effective political leadership (Cannibals 95, 106). Best utilizes the chastity of the two Inuit subjects to enable them to speak out not in words but in deeds. The continency which he finds "worth the noting" is a possible comment on and attack against the non-Christian sexual practices, expectations, and/or desires of the English travellers. In any case, it is worth paying very close attention to what the English find worth noting, since doing so yields some access to the attitudes and presuppositions which informed representations of others in early colonial texts.

Here we perhaps come closer to understanding the need for the English to assert in such a heightened way their authority over kidnapped natives. At the same time that the representational technology of the colonizer seeks to domesticize and otherwise demonstrate the thorough reduction and containment of the captives, it also undermines or problematizes this reduction and containment through an inability to suppress the (perhaps unconscious) desire to make sense of the new experience which does not appear, after all, entirely reducible or reconcilable to the set of European expectations surrounding travel to America. There are lucid moments, particularly in Best's discourse, when the writer grapples with his subject matter in an effort to make sense of an alien peoples. At times, and not only in relation to kidnapped Indians, Best shows a surprising regard for the subjective nature of the interpretive act and a reluctance to attach an unconditional meaning to the actions of others. As a means of conveying this subjectivity, the author employs tentative, conditional, or parenthetical expressions when describing Inuit behaviour, expressions such as "(I thinke)" and "it is to be thoughte" (66, 69-70). Such qualifying expressions call attention in a startling way to the writer's subjective role as interpreter.

Invariably, Best's account exhibits a need to shut down the possibility of any "objective" enquiry. Take, for example, his notoriously ethnocentric description of the living conditions of the inhabitants of Meta Incognita, particularly the writer's conclusion that the savages

> defile [their] dennes most filthylie with their beastly féeding, & dwell so long in a place *(as we thinke)* vntill their owne sluttishnesse lothyng them, they are forced to séeke a swéeter ayre, and a new seate, and are *(no doubt)* a dispersed and wandring nation, as the Tartarians, & liue in hords and troupes, withoute anye certayne abode. . . .(my emphasis, 65)

The juxtaposition of these two parenthetical phrases produces a most peculiar effect. The former phrase "(as we thinke)" conveys tentativeness and evokes the inquisitive and "impartial" tone of the modern ethnographer. It at least raises the possibility that given additional information the perception could prove a false one or that it might require qualification or modification. The latter phrase, in contrast, establishes conviction. Here the uncertainty of the onlookers in the previous phrase (the "we" who

"thinke") is replaced by the resolute voice of the dogmatist. As if in response to the crowd's vacillating reaction to the living conditions of the inhabitants, Best replaces enquiry with the stereotyped perception of Indians as wandering, rootless peoples, without towns, homes, lands, possessions. His abrupt impositioning of a Europeanized order on a matter that was initially open to at least some interpretation epitomizes the way early colonial texts work to establish closure. But this closure, which seems the result of a need to disavow travellers' fascination with the newness of their American experience, remains laboured, equivocal, ambivalent.

We have seen how the English show a certain respect or admiration for the courage of the Inuit, their indomitable will and fortitude, which Christopher Hall describes as "miraculous." While the inhabitants of Meta Incognita necessarily retain their brutish qualities, the English seem to find something unutterably remarkable about the sense the Inuit have of their own powers and liberties. Kidnapped natives draw a response which, although quite different, nonetheless bespeaks a similar realization of an unexpected humanity surrounding Inuit behaviour. In trying to account for the long silence of the two captives at their first encounter, Best observes tentatively that it was "as though it séemed, the gréefe and disdeyne of their captiuitie had taken away the vse of their tongs and vtterance." In contrast to the writer's usually jubilant, celebratory tone at native defeat, he is distinctly elegiac in this imagining of the others' sorrow at their captivity. Best's description indeed foreshadows the deaths of the Inuit, for once they regain use of their tongues, the natives become so close to one another that, as he says, "the one would hardly haue liued, without the comfort of the other." Best is of course writing in 1578, one year after the man and woman died in England, in fact within a remarkably short space of one another, a historical coincidence which renders his observation all the more poignant.[48]

In a way not entirely possible with the distanced savage body, more intimate contacts with, and observations of, the kidnapped natives provoke epiphany. Describing an encounter between the second male captive and "hys friendes," Best remarks:

> [He] fell so out into teares, that he could not speake a worde in a greate space, but after a whyle, ouercomming his kyndness, hée talked at full wyth hys companyons, and bestowed friendly vppon them suche toyes and trifles as we hadde gyuen hym, *whereby we noted,* that they are verie kynde one to the other, and greately sorowfull for the losse of their friendes. (my emphasis, 70)

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[48] Kalicho was buried on November 8 and Arnaq on November 12, 1577, both at St. Stephen's church in Bristol. Each is described as "heathen" in the parish register. See Cheshire *et al* 7 and Sturtevant and Quinn 84.

The writer remarks elsewhere that the Inuit are "excéeding friendly and kinde harted, one to the other" and that they "mourne greatly at the losse or harme of their fellowes, and expresse their greife of mind, when they part one from an other, with a mournefull song, and Dirges" (125). As in the above observation of the "continencie of them both" which Best finds "worth the noting," such details hint at the sense of surprise of early modern travellers when confronted by experiences, brought about through close contact with others, which proved unassimilable by their Old World expectations. They foreground, additionally, the challenge that the discrepancy between theory and practice posed for writers steeped in views which were becoming increasingly outmoded. Such a challenge, tantamount to a kind of predicament for the early colonial writer, is a matter that I will take up in the next chapter.

Chapter Two

Troubles in Paradise: A Study of Arthur Barlowe's Roanoke Account, c. 1584

Following the first stage of England's nascent colonialism, which was marked as we have seen by highly speculative fantasies and expectations about what the New World would yield investors, proponents of overseas exploration and settlement slowly began to piece together a somewhat more realistic American initiative, one which would constitute a series of voyages and attempts at colonization known today as the Roanoke expeditions. Of course, other attempts to establish an English presence in North America were planned or undertaken in the years between the final Frobisher expedition in 1578 and the first Roanoke voyage of 1584, the most important of which were Humphrey Gilbert's unsuccessful efforts in Newfoundland and Norumbega.[1] However, the six Roanoke expeditions under Ralegh's 1584 patent gave the English for the first time a very good idea of the many difficulties of living in America for long periods, and they put colonists into sustained contact with the Algonkians of modern Carolina Outer Banks.[2]

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[1] The Gilbert ventures are documented in Quinn, ed., The Voyages and Colonising Enterprises of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, supplemented by Quinn and Cheshire, eds. See also the discussions and documents in Quinn, ed., New American World 3: 5-60, 181-264.

[2] These six voyages were made in 1584 (the reconnaissance of Arthur Barlowe and Philip Amadas), 1585 (the voyage of Sir Richard Grenville, intended to leave Ralph Lane's colony of 108 men at Roanoke Island), 1586 (two supply voyages for the relief of Lane's colony), 1587 (John White's colony of 110 men, women, and children, intended for Chesapeake Bay but settled at Roanoke Island), 1588 (John White's attempted voyage to relieve the colony left behind the previous year), and 1590 (White's search for the so-called lost colonists of 1587). The main Roanoke texts are Arthur Barlowe's discourse of the 1584 voyage, the anonymously-written *Tiger* journal of the 1585 expedition, Lane's discourse of the first colony, Thomas Harriot's "A Briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia" (1588), and White's narratives of the 1587 and 1590 expeditions. Mostly due to competition with Spain and the resulting secrecy of England's colonial activities, none of the Roanoke accounts with the exception of Harriot's report were published before they appeared in Hakluyt's 1589 Principall navigations (rev. and rpt. in the enlarged edition of 1600). Quinn's two-volume The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590 is the authoritative edition of the narratives and supplementary materials. Quinn reprints the major texts in New American World, vol. 3 and Virginia Voyages from Hakluyt. The drawings of White's Caribbean and North Carolina experiences are reproduced in P.H. Hulton and D.B. Quinn, eds. Hulton's America 1585: The Complete Drawings of John White gives a concise

The Roanoke accounts offer scholars an excellent view of an intermediary stage in Renaissance England's overseas activities. Colonial thinking at the time of these voyages is partly characterized by an ideological and conceptual neutrality between a desire to locate the same kind of riches that Spain continued to reap in South and Central America and a slow awareness that England's transatlantic success, if it were to be achieved, rested mainly on the development of self-sustaining colonies and the implementation of a solid commercial base from which to exploit American resources. The climate of disillusionment after the failures of Frobisher and Gilbert contributed to the somewhat more realistic, if also unsuccessful, American schemes that Ralegh put together with the help of advisors such as the two Richard Hakluyts, George Peckham, and Thomas Harriot.

A comparison of Gilbert's and Ralegh's land grants and incentives underscores the development of a more practical approach to settlement. Gilbert in 1580 had assigned to the scientist/cosmographer/astrologer John Dee nearly most of what is now Canada as compensation for his "expert" colonial advice. In the eight months following the May 1582 publication of the younger Hakluyt's Divers voyages, which was in part a prospectus for Gilbert's voyages, Gilbert sold some eight-and-a-half million acres to Catholics. (His colonial scheme had the backing of the anti-Catholic but pragmatic secretary-of-state, Francis Walsingham, who understood that Catholics inhabiting North America could cause little trouble at home [see Durant 6-7]). That Gilbert gave away such vast amounts of land, by grant or by subscription, shows an extraordinary lack of practical and logistical awareness of American geography and peoples. Ralegh, more realistic in his estimation of the land available for expropriation, offered a relatively modest 500 acres to persons willing to help settle Virginia (Quinn, Set Fair For Roanoke 14ff).[3] It is certainly the case that an unambiguously clear progress does not exist during this or any other period of England's early colonialism, one telltale sign of which is that the allure of easy wealth remained a compelling if not principal motivation behind the nation's overseas activities.[4] Broadly speaking, though, each colonial venture, even if not successful in its own right, engendered new experiences

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introduction to the life and work of the artist and governor of America's first colony and a reproduction of his major drawings.

[3] In note 25 below I discuss several ways that Europeans justified the expropriation of Amerindian lands. Gilbert's and Ralegh's land grants and incentives reflect similar assumptions to do with England's right to American lands.

[4] Fuller reminds us that Ralegh's two voyages to Guiana (1596 and 1616) both had the discovery of gold as their main objective. The second of these expeditions, for which Ralegh began seeking the king's permission in 1607, even had a Frobisherian-like air of speculation about it given that Ralegh's case to James was built on the strength of a refiner's report about a stone found on the earlier voyage (55-84).

and theories which would eventually culminate in the formation of the Virginia Company of London in 1606, and the first permanent settlement--however tentative until 1622--at Jamestown the following year.

The Roanoke narratives have about them a distinct Janus-faced quality: even the most forward-looking of all New World participants, Thomas Harriot, the Oxford-educated scientist and mathematician whom Ralegh hired to train his pilots and sea captains in the new navigational technologies as well as to chart and describe the New World, laboured under the weight of the Old World's descriptive formulae.[5] His "A Briefe and true report," which historians such as Quinn have proclaimed for its near-modernity, its efforts to understand objectively the American data Harriot had compiled during the March-April 1586 exploration to the north and west of Albemarle Sound with John White and Ralph Lane, achieves, despite its rhetorical sophistication and innovativeness (cf. Fuller 50-54), little more than a vivid description of the American commodities, natural resources, and peoples Harriot believed available for exploitation (cf. Hattaway 180). Harriot's report expresses an unusual level of inquisitiveness about and mild tolerance of Amerindians not found in the work of colleagues such as Ralph Lane, the practical-minded military leader of the 1586 expedition, whose dogmatic assertions of Indian barbarism portray the same Carolina Algonkians in a vastly different light--no doubt partly to help dull the appearance of the soldier's brutal treatment of natives to his patron audience.[6] Despite the more objective tone of

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[5] Harriot was also assigned to undertake a study of the Algonkian language by working with the two natives, Manteo and Wanchese, whom Barlowe and Amadas had brought back in 1584, and to teach the English language to England's assumed that these men. On Harriot's other New World activities, including the development of a system of orthography to record Indian sound values, see Quinn, "Thomas Harriot and the New World" in Shirley, ed., Thomas Harriot: Renaissance Scientist 36-53. This informative volume includes essays on Harriot's contributions to scientific, mathematical, and navigational knowledges. Shirley's Thomas Harriot: A Biography is a comprehensive study of Harriot's life, including his years with Ralegh and his experiences in America. See also Quinn's chapter, "Thomas Harriot and the Virginia Voyages of 1602," England and the Discovery of America 405-18.

[6] The discrepancy in the representation of natives between Harriot's and Lane's accounts is a function not only of differing personalities but also of varying discursive purposes. Harriot's is a propagandist tract intended to counter adverse rumours about Virginia, to fund raise, and to encourage settlers to go to America. The natives in his account appear, consequently, as gentle innocents who can easily be brought to civility. Lane's narrative was a private document written for Ralegh, Walsingham, and their associates before it was revamped for publication in Hakluyt's 1589 Principall navigations. See Quinn, ed., Roanoke Voyages 1: 244-45, 314, 319-25, and 382-87. Lane's most commendatory depiction of the Algonkians is that of Menatonon, a local weroance whom the soldier held prisoner for several days before an unspecified ransom was paid.

Harriot's text the traveller was an active agent in the colonial process to no less a degree than any of his colleagues and collaborators. He reifies the trope of America's great plenty as a sign of the Creator's beneficence, and as an indication that God had fashioned Virginia and its peoples for the use and benefit of the English. The unequivocal impression of American availability which emerges from Harriot's text is a function not only of his own expectations, values, drives, and desires, but also, significantly, of the many persons who were heavily invested, if not financially then ideologically, in Ralegh's Roanoke endeavours.[7]

This chapter will take up the question of the restrictions placed on the travel writer in the telling of his narrative, and the ways that the Roanoke materials, as threshold texts which fail time and again to surmount their liminality, foreground the discrepancy between what travellers witnessed, or imagined they had witnessed, and what in fact they came to represent. If, as Wayne Franklin has suggested, "more than anything else, the West became an epistemological problem for Europe" (7), then one of the central ways that England's colonial theorists dealt with the resulting problem of how to describe the West was by providing travellers with specific instructions to help shape their textual responses to America. Such instructions, rather than enabling writers to record New World data as they had witnessed it, led to something of a perceptual and descriptive predicament, and to resulting images of Amerindians that are highly conflicted, contradictory, and ambivalent. After surveying the major literary and non-literary influences on the construction of Virginia as a "paradise of the world,"[8] I complicate this construction, and recent scholarly examinations of it, by considering Arthur Barlowe's 1584 narrative in the context of theoretical expectations surrounding early colonial reportage.

Lane describes him as "a man impotent in his lims, but otherwise for a Sauage, a very graue and wise man" (259).

[7] In a recent lecture, Peter C. Mancall discussed the early modern English graphic and printed images of American plants, peoples, and animals as an expression of, among other things, a widespread view that North America was divinely created to serve England's mercantile and political aims.

[8] So the younger Hakluyt termed the Roanoke areas in his report of the two supply voyages of 1586, published in both the 1589 and 1600 Principal navigations. Quinn reprints the narrative in Roanoke Voyages 1: 477-80. As the historian notes, this is the only narrative of the American voyages in Hakluyt which is not a first-hand account, most likely written by the editor himself to compensate for a shortage of information about the 1586 voyages, 477n.1.

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On October 5, 1584 Hakluyt the younger presented Queen Elizabeth with his colonial manifesto, the "Discourse of Western Planting," which, although it remained unpublished until 1877, is the fullest expression of the thoughts and attitudes of the English Renaissance writer who most shaped and influenced the course of western expansion.[9] Written at Ralegh's behest, the confidential report was designed to convince Elizabeth of the need for a state-funded project, especially, by implication, a project of the kind Ralegh was already busy preparing. Throughout, Hakluyt makes full reference to what he considered the authoritative texts on the New World in order to assure Elizabeth of her lawful title to "all the west Indies, or at the least to as moche as is from Florida to the Circle articke," regardless of Pope Alexander VI's 1493 donation to Spain of those regions of the world not already occupied by a Christian power (72).[10] Of the writer's allusions to the successes of other travellers--Villegagnon, Ribault, Oviedo, Cartier, Gilbert, Drake, and Fenton--his reference to Frobisher's journey above the sixtieth parallel, a journey in "freshe memorye" as he says (81), must have struck even the theorist himself as most ironic, perhaps even comic. For by 1584 the Frobisher tale of greed, deceit, and financial mismanagement was widely known throughout London, particularly to the queen who lost a huge sum of money in the enterprise, so that we have to wonder how Hakluyt could have believed that his reference to Frobisher would further his and Ralegh's case with the queen.[11]

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[9] There are few full-length discussions of Hakluyt's "Discourse." For an analysis of the work in the context of the example or model of Spain, see chapter four in Hart, Representing the New World. D.B. and Alison Quinn fill in the contexts of the tract's production in "The Editing of Richard Hakluyt's 'Discourse of Western Planting.'"

[10] See Taylor, ed., 1: 33; and Quinn, introduction, New American World 3: 70-71. Alexander VI, or Rodrigo Borgia, made the donation to Spain "of our own sole largesse and certain knowledge and out of the fullness of our apostolic power, by the authority of Almighty God." See the Bull Inter Caetera of May 3, 1493 in Davenport, ed., 1: 61-63.

[11] D.B. and Alison Quinn believe that the Frobisher data from which Hakluyt drew was "wholly inconclusive" (62). This cannot have been the case unless Hakluyt deliberately drew from inconclusive reports. Among the twenty-three charges against Frobisher (see my chapter one, note 2), the first two specified that Frobisher's promises to deliver gold had proven false based on refiners' evidence. It is highly improbable, given his connections with court and colonial officials, that Hakluyt himself believed that the evidence of Frobisher's lack of success was dubious. At the very least, Hakluyt seems to have been capitalizing on the *public* impression of Frobisher, although Elizabeth would have been familiar with the private one as well.

Nevertheless, Hakluyt adds that in North America, including the Arctic regions discovered by Frobisher, explorers had found an abundance of gold, silver, copper, pearls, and precious stones such as turquoise and emeralds (81).

Hakluyt's "Discourse" is filled with such paradoxes to the extent that it is difficult to see how the author could have succeeded in his endeavour, and indeed there is no evidence to suggest that he did. His position on many other key points is as grasping as the Frobisher reference, particularly his investment in the conversion of savages, an interest which, given the author's opening announcement that "this westerne discoverie will be greately for thinlargement of the gospell of Christe" (71), he seems to consider the prime motivation behind westward expansion. He acknowledges that explorers and colonizers have experienced serious difficulties in their efforts to convert natives; in fact, Hakluyt admits that as a result of the clergy sent with Villegagnon to Brazil, with Ribault to Florida, and with Frobisher, Drake, and Fenton on their voyages, "I was not able to name any one Infidell by them converted" (74). This failure is a particularly disturbing and potentially embarrassing problem to Hakluyt given Spain's claims to have converted millions of aboriginals. Yet the theorist, who was also a clergyman, is silent on the subject of *how* England might plant "sincere relligion" in America (120). Hakluyt's twenty-first and final chapter is telling of the kind of hypocrisy evident in promotional works such as his.[12] Under the subheading "A note of some thinges to be prepared for the voyadge . . . withoute the which the voyadge is

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[12] As Loren E. Pennington has discussed, historians, over the past century or so, have debated the importance and sincerity of the missionary motive as it relates to Elizabeth and Jacobean expansion. Scholars such as G.L. Beer, E.A.J. Johnson, J.A. Williamson, J.H. Parry and D.B. Quinn consider the motive of "lesser importance or as mere cliché." Several, such as Louis B. Wright, see it as sincerely held and important. More recent writers, following the work of ethnohistorian Francis P. Jennings, agree to the importance of the missionary motive but find it entirely hypocritical. See Pennington 175-76, ns. 2 and 3. See Jennings's discussion of what he calls a "Crusader Ideology" (3-14). It is worth pointing out that neither Elizabeth's letters patent to Gilbert nor those to Ralegh express any word on the subject of converting Indians. The continued absence of clergy sent to educate natives came under repeated fire during the Renaissance; the Reverend Patrick Copland, for example, criticized what he saw as England's neglect of duty, in a sermon delivered to the Virginia Company on April 18, 1622. See "Virginia's God be thanked, or A sermon of thanksgiving for the happie successe of the affaires in Virginia this yeare" (1622) E2. In the fourth edition of Purhase his Pilgrimage (1626), Samuel Purchas lauds James's recent approval of a college in Virginia "to be a Seminarie and Schoole of education to the Natiues in the knowledge and perfection of our Religion," 837. On June 22, 1620, James had already made provisions for this college but was not yet willing to commit entirely to the idea. See Great Britain, Council for Virginia, "A declaration of the state of the Colonie and Affaires in Virginia" (1620) E2v.

maymed," Hakluyt details the goods and men necessary for a rudimentary settlement in North America:

> Hoggs fleshe barrelled & salted in greate quantitie . . . Befe barrelled in less quantitie . . . Canary Wines . . . Aqua vitæ . . . Bere brewed specially in speciall tyme . . . Vyne planters . . . Hunters skilfull to kil wilde beast . . . Butchers . . . Cookes . . . Men experte in the arte of fortification . . . Gonne powdermakers . . . Shipwrightes . . . Oaremakers . . . Millwrights . . . Carpinters . . . Joyners . . . Blacksmithes . . . Mynerallmen . . . Brickmakers . . . Barbors . . . Launders . . . Tailors . . . Shoemakers . . . Tanners. . . .(123)

After this extensive catalogue, under a peculiar subheading titled "Thinges Forgotten May Here Be Noted as They Come to Mynde and After Be Placed with the Rest, and After That in All Be Reduced into the Best Order," Hakluyt remembers to include "one or twoo preachers for the voyadge that God may be honoured, the people instructed, mutinies the better avoided, and obedience the better used, that the voyadge may have the better successe" (123). Indeed, the ambiguous phrase "the people instructed" probably does not even refer to the Americans; rather, Hakluyt's afterthought, given his apparent concern to instruct potentially mutinous crews, may simply anticipate the kind of dissension and recalcitrance that William Strachey would later observe in "A True Reportory of the Wracke, and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight; upon, and from the Ilands of the Bermudas" (c. 1609, publ. 1625; cf. Canny 17-44).

Over the course of his career as a translator of foreign materials, Hakluyt repeatedly privileged colonial fantasies over realities by providing analogies in the overseas successes of England's rival nations and by identifying, from the Divers voyages (1582) to "Virginia richly valued, by the description of the maine land of Florida, her next neighbour" (1609), the North America territories he considered ripe for exploitation. That he had attempted to establish a lectureship in navigation in London to help match Spanish expertise, a scheme Sir Francis Drake agreed to finance but one not adopted because the expert whom Hakluyt selected for the lectureship, renowned Muscovy Company pilot Stephen Borough, wanted a larger fee than Drake was willing to pay, suggests that Hakluyt had at least some concern for the practical matters of England's transatlantic initiatives (Quinn, introduction, Richard Hakluyt, Editor 1: 15-40ff). Ultimately, however, the editor's interest in the practical aspects of travel and expansion was subordinated to his drive to promote, at best, dubious claims about America, a promotional impulse evident nowhere more than in his image of natives who "crye oute unto us their nexte neighboures to come and helpe them" ("Discourse" 72-73).

Such a depiction of Amerindians as welcoming, docile, and needy pervades the influential "True reporte of the late discoveries [of] Sir Humhrey Gilbert" of George Peckham, which appeared the year before Hakluyt offered his discourse to the queen. Peckham, who shared with his son a three-and-one-half-million-acre stake in Gilbert's

venture, used the "True reporte" to publicize Gilbert's exploits in Newfoundland, and also to make out his own case for a colony in America, aimed, as was Gilbert's plan, at both Catholics and Protestants.[13] The "True reporte" is the fullest public case in its day for an English settlement across the Atlantic; in it Peckham stresses the political and economic advantages of an American plan, and outlines what he sees as the humanitarian grounds upon which such a project might be based. His purpose in writing, he indicates, is to show that "trade, traficke, and planting, in America, is an action tending to the lawfull enlargement of her Majesties dominions, commodious to the whole Realme in generall. Profitable to the adventurers in perticuler, beneficial to the Savages, and a matter to be attained without any great daunger or difficultie" (450). Invoking the Law of Nations, Peckham criticizes those who doubt that "it is lawful for Christians to use trade and traficke with Infidels or Savages, carrying thether such commodities as they want, and bringing from thence some parte of theyr plentie" (450). Since savages are "thirsting after christianitie," and since as yet Christians do not understand their language well enough to facilitate meaningful dialogue, the writer proposes a way to convince natives that "they are encountered with such a nation as bring them benefite, commoditie, peace, tranquillity and safetie":

> [T]here must be presented unto them gratis, some kindes of our prittie merchaundizes and trifles: As looking Glasses, Bells, Beades, Braceletts, Chaines, or Collers of Bewgle, Christall, Amber, Jett, or Glasse etc. For such be the things, though to us of small value, yet accounted by them of high price and estimation: and soonest will induce theyr Barbarous natures to a likeing and a mutuall society with us. (452)

Peckham is the first to appropriate and ground in a specifically English rhetoric the European perception of New World indigenes who, having little regard for materials of "real" worth (i.e. the goods Europeans considered valuable), will happily and easily hand over their resources in exchange for trifles, trinkets, toys, and baubles.[14] Such a perception was already gaining currency in England, brought about largely through translations of accounts of European exploitations in the New World, such as Thomas

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[13] Peckam's pro-Catholic scheme, like Gilbert's, had the support of Walsingham, although he was denounced and arrested for pro-Catholic activities early in 1584, in the anti-Catholic fallout of Francis Throckmorton's arrest. See Quinn, England and the Discovery of America 236n.7, 379-81 and Voyages and Colonising Enterprises 2: 385n.1.

[14] Peckham thus helped to initiate a tradition that endured for quite some time in colonial relations. See, for example, MacLaren's analysis of Captain James Cook's late eighteenth-century material exchanges with a Nootkan chief in "Exploration/Travel Literature" 49-50.

Hacket's 1568 edition of Thevet's narrative of the French discovery of the northern parts of North America, called The new found worlde, or Antarctike. Tantalizing readers with images of European gain resulting from native simplicity, Hacket narrates the experiences of a crew member who received "great number of pieces of siluer" for only "four hatchets and certaine litle kniues, the which they esteme very muche" (77). "Those things that they receyue of Christians," Hacket explains, "they sette much store by, but of suche commodities as groweth in their countrey . . . they are very liberal" (77).

In 1580 Hakluyt helped bring into print John Florio's translation of the accounts of Cartier's 1534-36 expeditions to Canada, until then only available in the *Delle navigationi et viaggi* of Giovanni Battista Ramusio (publ. in 3 vols. between 1550 and 1559). Written for Francis I by either Cartier or his assistant (Burrage 3, 35, and 91), these narratives are filled with examples to the patron audience of the kinds of wares best suited to dazzle natives. During the 1534 expedition the travellers offered savages knives, combs, glass beads, "little bells made of Tinne," and "other trifles of small value." The author also notes his reason why Indians greatly value these materials: "These men may very well and truely be called Wilde, because there is no poorer people in the world. For I thinke all that they had together, besides their boates and nets, was not worth five souce" (Burrage 4-31).[15] Similar "divers gifts of small value" (50) were made on the second voyage of 1535. At Hochelaga, which stood near modern Montreal, Amerindians (probably Mohawk) were presented knives and beads "to lure them in" and to "keepe them our friends," after which offerings "they were greatly satisfied" (46, 57). As in the 1534 relation, the presumed reason for the "poor" and "Wilde" peoples' exuberance at these gifts is that they have "no care of any wealth in this world, for they have no knowledge of it" (60).

The relation of Cartier's third voyage of 1541 is a fragmentary translation made by Hakluyt of the original French report, now lost. As brief as the narrative is, Hakluyt preserved those parts of it which epitomize the allure of Old World commodities to Americans. Near modern Cape Rouge River Cartier gave each of the natives "certaine small trifles, as combs, brooches of tynne and copper, and other smal toyes, and unto the chiefe men every one his litle hatchet and hooke, whereat they made certaine cries and ceremonie of joy" (101). Descriptions of handouts to natives are always formulated on the kind of redundant diction we see here. To drive home the point about the tremendous commercial opportunity awaiting travellers to the New World, writers stress the utter disproportion between what is given and what may be gotten in return, devaluing trifles even further through the use of modifying words and phrases like "little," "small," and "of no value," and of hyperbolic images of native simplicity and

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[15] Quinn's edition of Hakluyt, Divers voyages 2: 121-207 reprints the English translations of the first and second relations, originally imprinted in 1580, and published again in Principal navigations (1600) 3: 201-32. All references are in Burrage's edition.

gullibility. Sailing along the coast of New Brunswick on July 9, 1534, the French reached Chaleur Bay where they were greeted from a distance by a group of Mi'kmaq who, pointing to "pieces of Seales ready sodden [set] upon pieces of wood," made "signes to us, that they did give them us." Cartier instructed two men to deliver to the Indians hatchets, knives, beads, and other trifles, "whereat they were very glad." "[B]y and by in clusters," the narrative continues,

> they came to the shore where wee were, with their boates, bringing with them skinnes and other such things as they had, to have of our wares. They were more than 300 men, women, and children: Some of the women which came not over, wee might see stand up to the knees in water, singing and dancing: the other that had passed the river where we were, came very friendly to us, rubbing our armes with their owne handes, then would lift them up toward heaven, shewing many signes of gladnesse: and in such wise were wee assured one of another, that we very familiarly began to trafique for whatsoever they had, til they had nothing but their naked bodies; for they gave us all whatsoever they had, and that was but of small value. We perceived that this people might very easily be converted to our Religion. (21)

Here native "simplicity," reflected in the seeming eagerness of the Mi'kmaq to "trafique for whatsoever they had, til they had nothing but their naked bodies," in addition to their apparent happiness at the arrival of their European visitors, leads swiftly and inexorably to an affirmation of the ease of the natives' conversion, and, throughout, to the implicit promise of more profitable exchanges. Greenblatt's discussion of the use of narrative in Columbus's letter to Santangel comes to mind in the context of the above cultural exchange. "It is one of the principal powers of narrative," he writes, "to gesture toward what is not in fact expressed, to create the illusion of presences that are in reality absent" (Marvelous Possessions 61). Nowhere in the French writer's gesturing does he call into question the sincerity of Amerindian pleasure at the arrival of the travellers, or attribute to them any sense of motivation or agency. The image of the ease with which the natives are taken in by European trifles is, of course, overwhelmingly one-sided, preempting at every stage the possibility that the Mi'kmaq were themselves trading to their considerable economic advantage. In the absence of aboriginal texts to substantiate the Mi'kmaq's motivation, we can only hypothesize instances of native agency between-the-lines of the European text. Having lured whites into trade by offering them what were surely the trifles of the Chaleur Bay region, a few chunks of seal meat, the Mi'kmaq proceeded to exchange everything they had, even their clothing, for European goods they likely had not seen since the arrival of Portuguese navigator Estevão Gomes in 1525 or Basque fishermen before him. The Mi'kmaq very likely did trade things of "small value" (in Europeans' own estimation) for materials they no doubt considered of much greater worth. Small wonder, then, that it took the French until their third journey to begin to doubt the sincerity of the eagerness with which they were

greeted by natives: "a man must not trust them," not for all their "faire ceremonies and signes of joy" (101). As the French slowly discovered--and as one recent scholar has acknowledged--Amerindians, not unlike Europeans, were most certainly capable of expressing their own forms of improvisational power.[16]

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Kirkpatrick Sale has recently analyzed what he calls the "Columbian Legacy [which was] embedded in English thought" by tracing Columbus's influence on writers such as George Abbot, Stephen Parmenius, Humprey Gilbert, Richard Hakluyt, and John Smith (253-56). Indeed, the kinds of images of the materially naive and easily-convertible native observed in the previous section owe much of their ubiquity and enduring appeal to relations of the Columbian expeditions. For the reason that these narratives helped to engender among the English a rhetoric of praise which would, as we shall see, prove difficult if not impossible for the Roanoke and Jamestown writers to shake, it is worth paying brief attention to Columbus's rhetorical contributions, even at the risk of appearing to go over some fairly well-trod ground.[17]

Partly for the reason that Columbus's voyages were royal commissions under Ferdinand and Isabella, his famous "Letter" of 1493, as well as other writings which transcriber Bartolomé de Las Casas included in the *Historia de las Indies*, were intended first to please his royal patrons. To render the New World in as appealing a way as possible, Columbus utilized the rhetorical figures that comprise the inexpressibility topos. As Mary B. Campbell describes it, this topos is made up of the negative list ("there are no storms, no weapons, no monsters, no enemies, no cities"); the trope of multiplication ("there are 'innumerable' islands, 'incomparable' harbors,

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[16] Greenblatt uses the term "improvisation" to describe a European form of power in which colonialists demonstrate "the ability both to capitalize on the unforeseen and to transform given materials into one's own scenario . . . the opportunistic grasp of that which seems fixed and established . . . [and an] ability again and again to insinuate themselves into the preexisting political, religious, even psychic structures of the natives and to turn those structures to their advantage" (Renaissance Self-Fashioning 227). Mary Fuller argues that Amerindians were also capable of "improvising" to their own significant advantage (95).

[17] Numerous scholars have observed Columbus's impact on Renaissance English travel writers, not only as the discoverer of the Americas, but also as the originator of an unprecedented descriptive language of marvel and wonder. See in particular Campbell; Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions; Hart "Images of the Native"; Hulme, Colonial Encounters; Pagden, European Encounters; and Todorov. Peter C. Mancall's recent article "The Age of Discovery" is a helpful discussion of reactions to Columbus in the aftermath of the 1992 quincentennial of his first voyage.

islands 'of a thousand shapes'"); the insistence that only seeing is believing ("the harbors of the sea are 'such as you could not believe without seeing them'"); and, finally, the impossibility of full enumeration ("the islands are 'all more richly supplied than I know or could tell'") (179). The explorer's descriptions of the "islands of India," especially Hispaniola, convey the sense of lands as much wondrous as they are entirely available to Spain. The effectiveness of his depictions derives in part from the use of catalogues in which even the inhabitants are perceived as items in a series of available goods, a standard rhetorical manoeuver in the admiral's representations of the New World. "The lands," he declares, "contain mines of metals, and inhabitants without number." "The trees, fruits and plants of this island differ considerably from those of Juana [San Juan], and the place contains a great deal of spicery and extensive mines of gold and other metals. The people of this island, and of all the others which I have become acquainted with, go naked as they were born" ("Letter" in Brooks 224-25). The explorer's later actions in the Caribbean confirm the view that, in addition to Hispaniola's natural resources, Columbus perceived the Taino as potentially profitable commodities. "In 1495," writes Anthony Pagden, "Columbus had sent some Taino back to Castile in part to demonstrate to Queen Isabella, whose own attempt to break the Portuguese monopoly on the Atlantic slave-trade had proved abortive, that these islands, if poor in the spices and the gold which should have been there, might still be rich in human merchandise" (European Encounters 31). Columbus's writing is "all style and innuendo" (Campbell 180), deriving its rhetorical force through *occultatio*, suggestion or concealment, a figure of *occupatio* where one emphasizes something by appearing to pass over it.

The admiral is far from content to leave the conquerability of the Caribbean to the imagination of his readers, however. To ensure that his audience does not fail to classify the Taino with the available commodities of Hispaniola, an availability of goods and people implied in the syntactical arrangement of Columbus's itemizations, the explorer, after pointing out the nakedness of the inhabitants, next draws attention to their apparent unsophistication, lack of defense, and shyness. "They do not possess iron, steel or weapons, and seem to have no inclination for the latter, being timorous to the last degree" (Brooks 225). This characterization leads, quite naturally, to a discussion of the natives' liberality and kindness. After doling out presents of cloth and other trifles, Columbus found that "no request of anything from them is ever refused, but they rather invite acceptance of what they possess, and manifest such a generosity that they would give away their own hearts. Let the article be of great or small value, they offer it readily, and receive anything which is tendered in return with perfect content" (Brooks 225-26). He recognized the impulse of his men to trade with such liberal-spirited people, and, although the explorer claims he prohibited his crew from trading with the Taino, he adds that "the whole of an Indian's property might be purchased of him for a few *blancas*, this would amount to two or three *castellanos'* value of gold, or the same of cotton thread." Columbus next remarks: "I presented them with a variety of things, in order to secure their affection, and that they may become Christians, and enter into the service of their Highnesses and the Castilian

nation, and also aid us in procuring such things as they possess, and we stand in need of" (Brooks 226).

Such observations mark the beginning of the trope of the Gentle and Tractable Savage, the prototype of the native who would come to be idealized by Montaigne in the sixteenth century and by Rousseau and Diderot in the eighteenth (see Pagden, European Encounters 13-14, 170, *passim*). Of course, this version of native simplicity and innocence, much like the antithetical image of the Bad Savage who, as we saw in the previous chapter, is cunning, treacherous, and deceitful, provided a rationale and a grounds for the exploitation of new lands. More relevant here is the discursive movement by which the image of Columbus's gentle inhabitants, who would even as he says "give away their own hearts," yields to the promise of their utter subordination to European rule. His rhetoric has a simple yet compelling logic to it which seeks to establish that the land is wondrous and fruitful; that the gentle and innocent inhabitants are an extension of the land, as available to Spain as are American resources; and that the Indians are thrilled to receive trifles, in exchange for which they will readily give their souls to God, and hand over their temporal goods to Europeans. While over the course of his expeditions Columbus encountered Indians whom he depicted as savage and bestial, these initial impressions of the Caribbean and its inhabitants mark his contribution to the myth of the Noble Savage, and to the idea of the New World as Paradise.[18]

Details and fantasies about the New World began circulating in print throughout Europe soon after Columbus's "Letter," helping to shape golden age or utopian[19]

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[18] As Isabel Rivers explains, most Christian commentators believed that Eden had an actual historical significance, traditionally located in Mesopotamia. Ralegh's History of the world (1614) includes a map of the Middle East with Eden precisely marked (10). On his return voyage, Columbus--having read of the earthly Paradise lying in a temperate region beyond the equator in Pierrre d'Ailly's *Imago Mundi*--believed he had discovered the terrestrial Paradise in the Azores. In an entry dated February 21, 1493, Las Casas writes: "The earthly paradise is at the end of the Orient, because it is a most temperate place, and so those lands which he had now discovered are, says he [Columbus], at the end of the Orient" (qtd. in Todorov 16). On the third voyage in the spring of 1498, Columbus was certain that the Orinoco in Hispaniola flowed from the terrestrial Paradise, presumably the same Paradise he thought he had discovered in 1493 (Penrose 84). Likewise, Columbus is certain he will encounter Cyclopes, men with tails, and Amazons because these creatures were commonplace in contemporary mythology and literature. The explorer employs what Todorov calls a "finalist" strategy of interpretation where "the ultimate meaning is given from the start" (16-17).

[19] The utopian tradition is grounded in myths and fables of prelapsarian harmony and primal felicity found in the golden age, such as the biblical Garden of Eden or the Elysian Fields of Greek mythology (Logan and Adams's, introduction, Utopia 8ff.). The term *golden age* is perhaps more technically correct than *utopian* since, as Winfried

conceptions of American lands and peoples evident in such texts as Amerigo Vespucci's 1503 and 1507 narratives of his four voyages, and in the Decades of Ocean (1511, 1516), written by Italian chronicler of the Columbian expeditions, Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (Peter Martyr), which includes accounts of Vespucci's voyages as well as of John Cabot's 1497 discovery of Newfoundland. Jeffrey Knapp, following the work of John H. Elliot, has noted England's slowness to react in print to European discoveries in the New World. Columbus's "Letter" saw at least twelve European editions in the year following the voyage, but none of them in English. An astonishing sixty years would pass before *any* "non-literary" information on the New World appeared in English. This period of silence ended with the publication of Richard Eden's Treatyse of the Newe India (1553), a redaction of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographiæ* (1544), which includes accounts of the explorations of Columbus, Vespucci, and Magellan.[20] Following the Treatyse, Eden published the first comprehensive collection of travel narratives in English, The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India (1555), an enormously influential work which included a translation of Peter Martyr's *De rebus oceanicis et orbe novo decades tres* (Basle, 1533) as well as translations of excerpts from Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdes's *Historia general y natural de las Indias* and writings from Vespucci, Antonio Pigafetta, Francisco López de Gómara, and Magellan.

Schleiner observes, there is a "virtual absence of a Renaissance theory of Utopia" (x). Logan and Adams, however, consider all depictions of imaginary societies as utopian (8). Because I see Renaissance European images of American lands and peoples as fundamentally imaginary in that they reflect not so much the lands and peoples per se but rather a set of widely held assumptions about non-European phenomena, I do not consider the difference between the two terms a significant one. Early modern readers, more confident of the distinction between fact and fiction, seem to have used the word *utopia* to denote falsehood in writing, implied for example in Samuel Purchas's remark in the first edition of Purchas his Pilgrimage (1613) that certain travel accounts "savour more of an Utopia . . . then of true Historie" (708; cf. OED, 2nd. ed.).

[20] Editions of Columbus's letter were printed at Barcelona (one), Rome (three), Antwerp (one), Basel (one), and Paris (three). Three editions of Dati's Italian versification were also printed, two at Florence and one at Rome. On Europe's slowness to react to New World discoveries during the first half of the sixteenth century, see Elliott, The Old World and the New 8ff., and "Renaissance Europe and America: A Blunted Impact?" 11-23. On England's particular belatedness during this period, see Knapp, An Empire Nowhere 18, 264n.3. Edward Arber reprints Eden's Treatyse in The First Three English Books on America.

3

Inspired by the golden age imagery in the texts of Columbus, Vespucci, Martyr, and others (see Porter 32), Thomas More's Utopia (1516) marks, according to Knapp, the first Tudor attempt to elaborate a theory of colonization (21).[21] More's satirical response to New World discoveries helped to engender a great deal of theoretical interest and excitement in America and its inhabitants, in part by locating the island of Utopia ambigously in the New World, thus inviting much speculation (both then and now) as to the precise geographical whereabouts of More's ideal realm (Fausett 42ff.).[22] The text itself calls explicit attention to the problem of Utopia's location. In a letter prefacing book 1 the character More is ashamed not to know in which ocean of the New World the island lies. He instructs Peter Giles to ask traveller Raphael Hythloday, should he run into him in Antwerp, "in what area of the New World Utopia is to be found" (5). Further, Hythloday, who was born in Portugal, had apparently accompanied Vespucci on the last three of his four expeditions to South America. On the last voyage, Hythloday and twenty-four other sailors were left in South America. (Vespucci in fact left twenty-four men at Cape Frio in 1507). Eventually the traveller made his way to Ceylon and then to Calicut where, by a stroke of good fortune, he found passage on a Portuguese ship bound for his native country. Somewhere between Cape Frio and Ceylon, then, Hythloday spent five enjoyable years on the island Utopia (10-12).[23]

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[21] According to Quinn, More is the first Englishman to use the word *colonia* in a Roman (i.e. imperialist) sense. Knapp observes that the term *colony* was still unfamiliar enough that Richard Eden in 1555 felt it required glossing, as in "their new colony or habitation" (265n.8). Quinn notes that Ralph Robinson in his 1551 translation of the Latin Utopia avoids the term *colony*, preferring to use *foreign towns*. See "Renaissance Influences in English Colonization" 75, 77. Robinson's translation is reprinted in Milligan, ed. I refer throughout to Logan and Adams's Cambridge edition of More's text.

[22] On the implications of Utopia's New World setting, see Caspari 100. The only other English text of the period clearly located in the New World is Francis Bacon's New Atlantis (1627), an unfinished treatise of political philosophy in the form of a fable. Bacon locates his imaginary island of Bensalem in the Pacific. Of particular interest on this island is "Solomon's House," a college of natural philosophy dedicated to the study of God's works and creatures.

[23] The ancillary materials which follow book 2 show a similar preoccupation with the island's New World location. See the commendatory letters, poems, and dictionary of words used by Utopians which appeared in the second edition of 1517. In a letter to Busleyden, Peter Giles asserts: "I will never rest till I have full information on this point [Utopia's location], not just its general position but its exact latitude" (124-25).

Located in the New World, More's ideal commonwealth parallels the Old in several ways. Hythloday points out that the island has fifty-four cities, a number which corresponds to the sum of counties in England and Wales plus London. The capital city of Amaurot very closely resembles London, and the river Anyder is similar to the Thames (43-47). As we might expect, there are more differences than similarities between Old and New Worlds, however. Borrowing from depictions of ideal republics in Plato's Republic and Laws and in Aristotle's Politics, More presents an inverse image of the political, economic and social conditions of Henry VIII's England. There is no private ownership of property in Utopia and its inhabitants work only six hours each day. Utopians are not covetous and they prefer iron, because of its greater usefulness, to gold, which they even scorn (50, 54, 62-63). Although the character More expresses reservations about Utopia toward the end of book 2, Hythloday considers it the ideal commonwealth and he praises Utopians' ability to provide each citizen with the things necessary for his or her sustenance (110-11, *passim*).

Despite the connections between the Old World and the New in Utopia, More's text is only tangentially influenced by accounts of the New World; in this regard, it resembles the way that William Strachey's "True Reportory" and other reports of the Bermuda shipwreck and the difficulties of the nascent colony at Jamestown influenced Shakespeare's writing of The Tempest.[24] In the absence of concrete traces of Amerindian cultural materials such as corn and tobacco, More's Utopia remains fundamentally distanced from whatever realities were taking place in the New World in the early sixteenth century. This distancing is one of the defining characteristics of the utopic vision, evident in the word *utopia* (from the Greek, meaning "no place") which comes to us through More's text. By its pun on the Greek *eutopia* ("happy place"), the title, Utopia, suggests that the happy place is nowhere to be found. Rather, More's text imagines an ideal alternative world in order to foreground the political and social conditions of Henry VIII's England (cf. Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-Fashioning 37). Preoccupied with the Old World and geographically and conceptually estranged from the New, More's text offers no radical commentary on American expansion and colonization. Even in those passages which seem to elaborate what Knapp identifies as a theory of colonization, passages in which colonists expropriate native lands and justify the wars they make on inhabitants who leave their lands idle (e.g. 56ff.), Utopia offers little more than a parody of European discoveries in America and a cynical foretaste of future exploitations.[25] The enthusiasm for Utopia of Hythloday, whose

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[24] See Stephen Orgel's discussion of E.E. Stoll's attacks against those Americanists, such as Gayley, Lee, and Cawley, who privilege New World experience in Shakespeare's handling of his source material, in Orgel, ed., The Tempest 26.

[25] Knapp uses the idle-land-as-justification example in his discussion of what he calls More's "Utopian colonial theory" which "turns the accusation that a land is 'idle and waste' into a justification for colonizing it." Knapp continues: "this came in fact to be

name after all comes from the Greek meaning "expert in nonsense," is best tempered with a recognition of More's humanist and political intentions in writing. Logan and Adams remind us (xvii) that around 1501 More gave a series of lectures on City of God and that he elaborated in his text Augustine's conviction that no earthly society could be completely attractive and without faults.

More's fictional Utopia may well have encouraged his brother-in-law, lawyer, printer, and dramatist John Rastell, to seek a real one of his own in Newfoundland, in a risky colonizing scheme aborted in 1517.[26] The publication of Rastell's well-known cosmographical play A New Interlude and a Mery of the Nature of the Four Elements (1518) marked a fortuitous conjuncture of the contemporary appeal of the New World and the rise of London-based printing. Early sixteenth-century printing helped to create

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repeated time and again in the American propaganda of Renaissance England" (21). True, this "idle and waste" justification is an important colonial trope, but Knapp overstresses More's role in shaping it, and he neglects the tropes biblical derivations. Wilcomb Washburn in "The Moral and Legal Justification for Dispossessing the Indians" discusses the three main arguments, each supported by the Old Testament, which colonialists deployed to justify the expropriation of native lands. God made room for settlers through gift, purchase, or legitimate expulsion of heathens by a war willed by God. A foreign people may also occupy for cultivation vacant lands without permission or purchase (15-32). Bernadette Bucher discusses the principle of the natural law in the context of the "whole campaign against nomadism and hunting peoples in favor of sedentary peoples" (110-11ff.). More, in fact, refers to the law of nature in his Utopia: "When any people holdeth a piece of ground void and vacant to no good or profitable use: keeping others from the use and possession of it, which, notwithstanding, by the law of nature, ought therefore to be nourished and relived" (book 2, chapter 5). Richard Eburne expresses a similar view in 1624 in "A Plaine Pathway to Plantations": "When finding a Country quite void of people . . . we seize upon it, take it, possesse it, as by the Lawes of God and Nations, lawfully we may hold it as our owne, and so fill and replenish it with our people" (qtd. in Seed 31n.74). More did not develop this "theory," although his text had some role in its dissemination. Cf. Grafton 55 and Seed 31-32.

[26] This venture was probably organized by Sebastion Cabot and Sir Thomas Spert, "whose faynt heart was the cause that the viage took none effect." See Richard Eden's dedicatory preface to Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographiæ* (1553), qtd. in Reed 187. The voyage, which never got beyond Ireland, was thwarted by a mutinous crew and an attempted hijacking. Rastell later brought successful proceedings against John Ravyn and John Richards, the principal agents who caused Rastell to abandon the voyage and to lose goods worth a hundred pounds, in the Court of Requests. See Reed's transcription of the Proceedings in his Appendix I. See also Axton, ed., 5-6 and Quinn, ed., New American World 1: 161-68 for other documents relating to this venture.

conditions for an English national drama that could be secular, socially involved, and less restrictive in subject matter than the late-medieval morality play. Many London-educated humanists, Rastell among them, felt free to experiment with traditional dramatic forms and to explore the possibilities of the English language (Axton 28-39). His work is in many ways typically humanist in scope, interests and ideals, demonstrating a belief in the educated person's moral obligation to convey what Rastell calls the "subtle science" of the Latin authorities to vernacular audiences. "Our englyshe tonge," the Messenger says, is "sufficient" to "expound any hard sentence [meaning] evydent" (lines 25-27). These ideals combine in Four Elements with Rastell's interest in the discovery of lands across the Atlantic. The advertisement for the play promises to instruct readers about the "dyvers straunge regyons and landys" including "the new founde landys" and "the maner of the people" (A1; xxiii-xxiv). In the play proper, Experience compares the known continents of the world to America, a vast unknown that "Tyll nowe, within this twenty yere" no one had "harde tell of . . . By wrytynge nor other meanys" (lines 736-39).[27] Rastell's subject matter is in this way appropriate to his desire to "expound" in the English language in order to educate his lay audience.

After describing the mutinous crew which prevented Rastell's American voyage, those "[f]als of promys and dissemblers," Experience says,

> O, what a thynge had be than,
> Yf that they that be englyshe men
> Myght have ben the furst of all
> That there shulde have take possessyon
> And made furst buyldynge and habytacion,
> A memory perpetuall! (lines 762-67).

Referring to this passage, Quinn calls Rastell "the first man we know to make a plea for the systematic colonization of North America by Englishmen" (New American World 1: 169). Knapp agrees with Quinn, and sees these lines as "profoundly elegiac" over the "miraculous English opportunity to 'have been first of all,' [which] is now forever lost" (45). While national aggrandizement is certainly an important characteristic of Rastell's literary and colonial endeavours, the elegiac tone of his text functions on a personal as well as public level. In reenacting the circumstances by which the adventurer and would-be colonizer had *himself* failed to take possession of Newfoundland, Rastell's

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[27] Vespucci's first voyage was made in 1497 and the name *America* first appeared in Waldseemüller's *Cosmographiæ Introductio* (1507) and on its world map, although Rastell was probably thinking more here about the more northerly "new found lands" discovered by the Cabots under the letters patent of Henry VII (Axton 132). Details of John Cabot's 1497 Newfoundland voyage were available in Martyr's work at the time, but only in Italian. There is no internal evidence that Rastell had consulted this work.

drama evokes a sense of loss, a loss not only to the English nation but also to the dramatist who desires to instruct his audience on the matter of "the new found landys" and "the maner of the people" but who lacks the kind of information necessary to the task, the practical knowledge and experience he would have gained had he the opportunity to witness the New World firsthand. As such, Four Elements foregrounds the dramatist's own ambivalence about having to rely on a theoretical knowledge of America.

As an attempt to disclose the New World to readers, the drama, as Rastell highlights throughout his text, fails miserably. Since the dramatist lacks any practical understanding of the New World, it is ironic that the character Experience is the one who points to our inadequate knowledge of America, the fact, for instance, that we do not yet know what commodities may be found there, nor the origins of its inhabitants (lines 747, 817). Recent discoveries across the Atlantic have clearly raised more questions than they have answered, questions the dramatist might have been able to answer had his venture met with more success. Against a backdrop of questions and uncertainties surrounding the New World Rastell depicts his version of America, a version which is, in the absence of any concrete knowledge, a clichéd antithesis, not unlike More's Utopia, of the corrupt Old World the writer sees as largely responsible for his colonial failure. The dramatist's desire to search for New World commodities was unsuccessful because of the mariners who proved

> Fals of promys and dissemblers,
> That falsly them [the adventurers] betrayed,
> Whiche wolde take no paine to saile farther
> Than their owne lyst and pleasure.
> Wherfore that vyage and dyvers other
> Suche kaytyffes have distroyed. (lines 756-61)

Rastell's diction here underscores the very autobiographical nature of his literary project. In the Bill of Complaint brought against those whom the writer held accountable for his failed voyage, Rastell accused John Ravyn and the "false mareners"--Ravyn's employees Edward Taylor, John Brian and Humphrey Dyke--of stealing his goods (Quinn, ed., New American World 1: 162). In contrast to the limiting deceit of the Old World, America is imagined as a vast space that still has its integrity and sense of innocence intact. "[T]hat countrey," Experience proclaims, "is so large of rome,/Muche lenger than all cristendome,/Without fable or gyle" (lines 741-43).

Rastell, the would-be colonizer who, given his literary talents and diverse interests, may well have imagined writing a travel account of his experiences, articulates in Four Elements a deep sense of regret at the opportunity, lost to both himself and England, to have attained a measure of New World experience. Lacking the experience which the humanist and dramatist would otherwise privilege, Rastell falls back, by default as it were, on the golden age myths about the New World and its peoples that had been taking shape in Western Europe since Columbus's first letter.

Unable to break new ground, prevented from accessing and then exposing New World knowledge, the writer shapes his drama out of the material he knows best. "But what commodytes be within,/No man can tell nor well imagin" (lines 747-48). Form and content come together here, where Rastell's choice of rhetorical strategy indicates the Old World order intended to contain New World uncertainty. Experience answers everything and nothing, conveying the utter inexpressibility of all there is to be found in America.

On the "maner of the people" Rastell's creative well is equally vacuous, equally steeped in lessons culled from other writers. Although the natives "as yet lyve all bestly" (line 780), they will prove, as for Columbus, remarkably easy to instruct in Christian ways given that the Indians already worship the sun "in the stede of God almyght" (lines 781-85). In Rastell's borrowed understanding of America, the inhabitants do not dwell in buildings nor houses, "[b]ut wodes, cotes [small shelters], and cavys small," and they possess no iron, tools, nor weapons of any kind. The Indians have copper "[i]n dyvers places above the grounde," woods out of which "[g]reat ryches myght come," and fish in "so great plente," three principal commodities which Experience imagines will result in highly lucrative English trades and enterprises (lines 797-810). In its main perceptions of the American landscape--expansive, innocent, rich in easily attainable resources--and of its peoples--naked, beastly, defenseless, easy to convert--Four Elements is modelled after a fundamentally Columbian paradigm, but it is a construction which, in view of the thwarted drives and desires of the pragmatic dramatist, Rastell engages by default only, reluctantly, half-heartedly.

This is not how the play has been read in recent years, not, that is, at a time when Rastell seems to say (or critics want him to say) so much on the subject of England's role in the colonial scheme of things to come. Consider the example of Experience's seemingly prophetic words on the conversion of the American savages:

> And what a great meritoryouse dede
> It were to have the people instructed
> To lyve more vertuously,
> And to lerne to knowe of men the maner,
> And also to knowe God theyr maker,
> Whiche as yet lyve all bestly. (lines 775-80)

Alluding to this passage, Pennington writes that, although Four Elements contains no trace of real understanding of Amerindians, "Rastell's simple proposal for civilizing and Christianizing the native was to become a principal philosophic justification for English colonization in America" (175). While useful in identifying conversion as one of the driving forces behind the nation's American activities, Pennington's assessment overvalues Rastell's literary contribution to English colonization in a way similar to Knapp's emphasis on More's "Utopian colonial theory." Both readings reflect a synchronic approach toward history which privileges where English colonialism wound

up, at the expense of the twisting, circuitous path which it took to arrive there. In the case of Rastell this path suggests that, regardless of the use writers would make of his text in the future, the author's vision is one borrowed largely from others, an already clichéd expression borne out of the dramatist's personal exasperation and failure.

A look at Hakluyt's appropriation of Rastell's voyage for the 1589 edition of the Principall navigations sets out a few of the pitfalls awaiting critics who attempt to construct a seamless historiography while disregarding the ways that narratives borrow what they need from other narratives in an effort to shape a more ideologically purposeful story. Hastily compiling material to include in the 1589 edition, Hakluyt found information on the English North American ventures of 1517-36 particularly difficult to come by (Quinn and Skelton, introduction, Principall Navigations 1: xxxivff). For his narrative of Rastell's 1517 voyage, which Hakluyt entitled "The voiage of Sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot," the editor borrowed from Richard Eden's dedicatory preface to Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographiæ* (1553) to lament that the voyagers had failed to return to England with riches from the "Newfoundland of Peru." Hakluyt then appended to Eden Baptista Ramusio's Italian translation of an extract written by Oviedo in 1527. Finally, to these he attached Robert Thorne's 1527 letter informing Henry VIII that, despite England's previously unsuccessful efforts to locate riches in the "North partes," the crown's continued efforts would eventually yield the same kind of "infinite riches" that Spain had reaped in Peru (515-16).[28]

Hakluyt's convoluted and anachronistic editorial practice in this example is very likely due to his hasty and careless treatment of the source materials for the 1589 edition, as well as to the scarcity of documents relating to Rastell's voyage, as much as it is due to his promotional impulse. The result is a vastly idealized rendering of Newfoundland, one which conflates Rastell's failed voyage with the wealthy Spanish region of the "Newfoundland of Peru." Indeed, Hakluyt's portrayal of Newfoundland would hardly have been recognizable to the pragmatic Rastell. Since the differences between Rastell's and Hakluyt's versions of Newfoundland are extreme, it would be misleading to construct any kind of correlation between their texts. Hakluyt and Rastell each possessed radically distinct interests, visions, goals, and agendas. Histories which emphasize the thematic congruencies between these and other travel materials tend to mask, as a result, the many contradictions between these texts. Absent in such readings is an account of the individual travel writer's struggle to articulate the foreign, as well as a sense of the diverse textures of early colonial writings which emerged out of this struggle.

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[28] Following the Cabots' discovery of Newfoundland under Henry VII's 1497 charter, a number of voyages put out from Bristol between 1500 and 1505, sponsored by an Anglo-Azorean syndicate (Axton 131).

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The previous sections of this chapter have sketched out several of the key literary and non-literary influences on early modern England's representational practices and strategies as they relate to a golden age ideology. The task here will be to try to understand how this range of information impacted the construction of Virginia as a "paradise of the world." Scholars have not yet paid sufficient attention to Arthur Barlowe's account of the 1584 reconaissance, and in particular to several questions fundamental to a study of early modern travel narratives: what roles, for instance, do competing interests and objectives, such as the travel writer's desire to describe what he "actually" witnessed in America as distinct from his effort to write for a patron audience, play in the production of travel accounts? What kinds of tensions or ambiguities arise from this competition, particularly in relation to images of Amerindians? Such questions problematize the study of Renaissance travel narratives and supplement a popular thematic approach to colonial writings. We can certainly trace from text to text in a given period images of homomonstrosity, say, as in my first chapter, or, here, images of Amerindians modelled on Edenic or Ovidian prototypes; such an analogous approach gives us a general sense of how various epistemologies were transmitted from epoch to epoch and from one articulation of an idea to another.[29] A thematic approach has limitations, however, the most restrictive of which is its tendency to privilege a totalizing analysis over the possibility of multiple histories.

Harry Levin's The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance (1969) is a good example of the way thematic criticisms circumvent or disavow the heterogeneity of Renaissance travel accounts. Indeed, Levin's is an important work because it set a standard for the way many later historians and critics would view European responses to New World *exotica*, especially in relation to the richness of America's lands and the benevolence of its inhabitants. Following the work of scholars such as H.N. Fairchild, who three decades earlier had remarked, "again and again, we shall find Noble Savages likened to men of the Golden Age" (4), Levin suggests that American travellers found little difficulty when it came to representing the indigenous peoples with whom they made contact. "Nothing they had previously experienced could have prepared them for their initial view of the Amerindians," he writes. "However,"

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[29] This transmission does not take place simply from text to text, of course, as in the case of one writer influencing another. It also occurs through what Greenblatt in Shakespearean Negotiations terms "the circulation of social energy," the "complex, ceaseless borrowings and lendings" evident in any verbal or non-verbal exchange of information (1-20). In the context of the younger Richard Hakluyt's use of rhetoric, Rawdon Wilson recently argues for "a model of sociocultural exchange that allows for the transmission of knowledge, including ideas both about what to write and how to write, through all levels, by normal and nonnormal means" (227).

> they could draw upon a rich backlog of fabulous lore about aborigenes, namely the myth of the golden age. Hence it is not surprising that, whenever the voyagers undertook to describe the inhabitants of the new lands they had been exploring, the Ovidian *topos* was likely to come into play, almost as if it had been touched off by a reflex action. Life at its barest and least sophisticated was somehow decked out with a set of trappings inherited from the learned conventions of literature. (60)[30]

The golden age myth also contributed, along with the influence of representations of the New World and its inhabitants discussed above in the context of Columbus, More, and Rastell, to the ubiquitous metaphoricity of America as an earthly Paradise in literary texts of the period. In Michael Drayton's 11th Ode, "To the Virginian voyage," which he addressed to Richard Hakluyt, the poet speaks of

> Virginia
> earths onely paradise.
> where nature hath in store
> fowle, venison and fishe
> and the fruitefull'st soyle
> without your toyle
> three haruests more,
> all greater then your wish.
>
> And the ambitious vine
> Crownes with his purple masse,

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[30] The "rich backlog of fabulous lore" to which Levin refers was revived in the Renaissance through such classical texts as Hesiod's Works and Days which contains the following famous statement on the "golden race of mortal men": "The gods, who live on Mount Olympus, first/Fashioned a golden race of mortal men;/These lived in the reign of Cronos, king of heaven/And like the gods they lived with happy hearts/Untouched by work or sorrow. Vile old age/Never appeared, but always lively-limbed,/Far from all ills, they feasted happily./Death came to them as sleep, and all good things/Were theirs; ungrudgingly, the fertile land/Gave up her fruits unasked. Happy to be/At peace, they lived with every want supplied,/Rich in their flocks, dear to the blessed gods," lines 109-20. Ovid's Metamorphoses likewise describes a golden period when "the peoples of the world, untroubled by any fears, enjoyed a leisurely and peaceful existence. . . .The earth itself, without compulsion, untouched by the hoe, unfurrowed by any share, produced all things spontaneously, and men were content with foods that grew without cultivation," 1.2.89-103. Isabel Rivers provides a useful discussion of the classical myth of the golden age and its Judeo-Christian appropriations (9-20).

> The Cedar reaching hie
> to kisse the sky
> the Cypresse, Pine
> and vse full Sassafras.
>
> To whome the golden age
> still natures laws doth giue. (C4r-C4v)

Levin observes that England's first colonists took the Judeo-Christian appropriation of the myth of the golden age, the concept of a return to the garden, "earths onely paradise," as their *raison d'être* in America, and he explores the continuity between this return, seventeenth-century Puritanism, the eighteenth-century ideology of the constitutional founders, and nineteenth-century westward expansion in the United States (67).

The implicit ease of New World description is clear in recent readings which insist on an ongoing thematics as travellers wrote about their American experiences, as if past literatures and historicities had unshakably left their marks on the minds of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century voyagers. In her insightful comparative study of European Ceremonies of Possession, for instance, Patricia Seed examines the lure value of the New World garden for the English, in contrast to the Spanish who were drawn overseas by visions of gold and the Portuguese who were enticed by spices and dyewoods (26-27). Seed essentializes Barlowe's description of the Englishmen's initial approach to Virginia in 1584--"The second of July we found shoal water, where we smelt so sweet and so strong a smell, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden" (qtd. in Seed 25)--as a paradigmatic and defining instance of the English attraction to America. In this pivotal moment in Barlowe's text, the garden "does" much more than recall, as in Seed's reading, the trope's paradisiacal (biblical) derivations, although her decontextualization, a function of Seed's thematics, preempts a range of fascinating interpretive possibilities.[31] Such readings invariably appropriate the most elaborate articulations of the golden age motif found in Renaissance travel accounts, of which Arthur Barlowe's following description of the hospitality of the

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[31] Seed 33-35. Barlowe's "delicate garden" also reflects the increasing anti-Spanish sentiment in the few years prior to the defeat of the Armada in 1588. The smell of the sweet air contrasts with the foul odor of the Spanish Caribbean from whence the English had just sailed, an air Barlowe describes as "very vnwholsome," and one in which "our men grew for the most part ill disposed" (93). The pleasant scent of the water signals a movement in Barlowe's discourse away from something unattractive and unwholesome, a land occupied by the Spanish, toward something vibrant, healthy, full of promise, a land which the English would soon take as their own. Competition with Spain is but one of the important historicities informing the rhetoric of praise which is overlooked in readings such as Seed's.

Carolina Algonkians, a now extinct people who inhabited the area of Hatarask Island, is undoubtedly the most famous. For reasons which will become clear in a moment, I cite the passage as it appears in Levin's work:

> We were entertained with all love and kindness and with as much bounty after their manner as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason and such as lived after the manner of the Golden Age. The earth bringeth forth all things in abundance as in the first creation, without toil or labor. (66)

Keeping in mind that even Derrida has been forced to admit (rather reluctantly) the impossibility of fully getting rid of what he calls the "imperatives of classical pedagogy"--forging links, justifying trajectories, and reestablishing continuities (3-4)--I want to suggest that reiterations of a seamlessness and fluidity of ideas in early colonial materials, whether in examinations of such discursive strategies as a rhetoric of praise or of blame, though helpful in giving a rough sketch of the ways various epistemologies were picked up and disseminated in the Renaissance, tend to conceal the often shifting and contradictory images of America and its inhabitants. They obscure, as a result, what seem to have been highly complex and diverse representational processes in play as individual writer's sought to describe unfamiliar territories and peoples. It is telling, for example, that Levin quotes Barlowe's description of the Carolina Algonkians from Hakluyt's 1589 edition of the Principall navigations, where Barlowe's account of the 1584 reconnaissance first appeared, and not from the second, expanded version of 1600 (vol. 3). In a footnote, however, Levin incorrectly cites the 1600 edition of the Principal navigations (the Glasgow reprint of 1904, 8: 305), which is obviously an oversight since Hakluyt had in fact omitted the sentence, "The earth bringeth forth all things in abundance as in the first creation, without toil or labor," from the 1600 version. Levin's somewhat inaccurate documentation creates, as a result, a much neater and tidier picture of the golden age motif in Barlowe's account than the bibliographic evidence can support.

The matter of Hakluyt's omission is worth pursuing, though, since it calls attention to the theorist's editorial practice. Notably, the deletion contradicts Hakluyt's general policy aimed at augmenting the already euphoric impression, evident in the earlier work, of those American territories and resources available to the English. When Hakluyt reprinted Barlowe's narrative in the expanded version of 1600, for example, he included marginal notes not printed in the 1589 edition; he did so to better inculcate a sense of America's bounty and the benevolence of its inhabitants. Glosses such as "Abundance of grapes," "Goodly Cedars, Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras," "Abundance of fish," "White corall Perles," and "The great kindnes of the kings brothers wife," identify and laud those commodities Hakluyt considers the key selling points of Virginia, as well as the potential for good (i.e. economically advantageous for

the English) relations with the Indians (95, 97, 101, 107, *passim*).[32] And back in 1589, when Hakluyt was gathering accounts for his first collection, the editor no doubt already had strong promotional material to work with in Barlowe's journal, a reworking of the ship's log, an earlier draft of which Ralegh had used in the promotion of his parliamentary bill to confirm his patent of 1584.[33] Quinn, Barlowe's most exhaustive twentieth-century editor, describes the narrative as "a polished one, though perhaps the polish was applied by Ralegh, who seems to have circulated it in manuscript to would-be subscribers to the 1585 Virginia voyage" (England and the Discovery of America 218). The historian states elsewhere that Barlowe's text is "somewhat censored and prettied up" (The Hakluyt Handbook 1: 246) and that it presents an "almost too idyllic picture of the little Indian world into which he had intruded" (Set Fair For Roanoke 46, 212).[34] E.G.R. Taylor remarks that Hakluyt, before completing his "Discourse of Western Planting" for the queen, waited to see the results of the voyage of Amadas and Barlowe (The Original Writings 1: 34). The explorers returned to London and gave the ship's journal to Ralegh around the end of September 1584, and Hakluyt presented the "Discourse" to Elizabeth on October 5. Between these dates it is probable that Ralegh revised the rough account, perhaps with the input of his advisor Thomas Harriot, before handing it over to Hakluyt. Numerous persons in the circle of Ralegh and Walsingham would have read and commented on the manuscript after this date and prior to its revision and publication by Hakluyt in 1589, although, as is the case with most travel narratives of the period, there remains little manuscript evidence to help clarify the various stages in the production of "Barlowe's" account.[35]

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[32] Quinn discusses Hakluyt's addition of side-notes for promotional purposes in Richard Hakluyt, Editor 1: 39.

[33] The parliamentary bill--little more than a publicity stunt according to Quinn--was presented to the House of Commons on December 14, 1584. See Quinn, ed., Roanoke Voyages 1: 15-17, 92, 122, and New American World 3: 276.

[34] Cf. Quinn, ed., New American World 3: 276 and Roanoke Voyages 1: 9, 11, 17.

[35] I.S. MacLaren explores such issues as authorship, authenticity, and the stages of a text's composition in the context of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travel writing. See "Samuel Hearne's Accounts of the Massacre at Bloody Fall, 17 July 1771" esp. 43, and "From Exploration to Publication: The Evolution of a Nineteenth-Century Arctic Narrative" esp. 40-41, 52. The difficulties MacLaren highlights in the context of nineteenth-century Canadian traveller, painter, and writer Paul Kane--"Where papers are extant to permit comparisons, seldom does one find that what was written in the field or on the seas matches what appears in print. Not often did the explorer or traveller manage this metamorphosis on his own" (68)--are exacerbated during the period of my project, where very little manuscript evidence survives. See "The Metamporphosis of Travellers Into Authors: The Case of Paul Kane."

Given what was evidently a full and complex background of editorial focus on Barlowe's narrative by Ralegh, Hakluyt, and possibly others before and after the 1589 publication, a background which highlights this text's especial promotional significance, it is worth paying close attention to revisions made to Barlowe's account where evidence of the editor's decision-making process exists. The deletion seems to be more than simply an oversight on Hakluyt's part. While the editor's treatment of his source materials was careless and at times reckless as he scrambled to collect materials to bring his 1589 edition into print, the alterations he made between the two editions generally reflect the work of a more meticulous and methodical hand (cf. Quinn, England and the Discovery of America 219). It is difficult to agree with Quinn's assessment that the editor omitted the line "apparently as not contributing anything to the narrative" (Roanoke Voyages 1: 108n.9). On the contrary, the sentence is the only one in Barlowe's text to allude to the ease with which the golden-age-like inhabitants reap the land's miraculous plenty. As such, it emphasizes the symmetrical relationship between America and its inhabitants in first-encounter narratives which I discussed in the previous chapter. The line is also consistent with what Wayne Franklin terms the discovery narrative, a narrative depicting America as a "fund of vegetative symbols, a place of 'superabundance' counterpointed to the implicit wasteland of Europe" (21). Barlowe's text is a discovery narrative *par exellence*. In the following passage which anticipates the "ambitious vine" of Michael Drayton's 11th Ode, Barlowe describes grapes,

> as the very beating, and surge of the Sea overflowed them, of which we founde such plentie, as well there, as in all places else, both on the sande, and on the greene soile on the hils, as in the plaines, as well on euery little shrubbe, as also climing towardes the toppes of the high Cedars, that I think in all the world the like abundance is not to be founde: and my selfe having seen those partes of Europe that most abound, finde such difference as were incredible to be written. (95)

Elsewhere in his narrative, Barlowe catalogues the commodities he anticipates will result in quick gain and long-term profit, with a manic breathlessness which conveys the utter inexpressibility of his American experience. The travellers find deer, rabbits, and fowl "in incredible aboundance." Fruits and vegetables emerge from a soil described as "the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull, and wholsome of all the world." Cedars are imagined as the reddest and the tallest in the world, superior to those found in Bohemia, Moscovy, Hyrcania in the Caucasus, the Azores, or India. Pines, cypresses, sassafras, and the Lentisk or Sweet Gum are other potential commodities possessing superlative qualities (96-97, 105-06). The sentence Hakluyt deleted thus reinforces the goodness of both land and peoples, giving weight and breadth to the

colonial fantasy of easy access to a land of plenty which is inhabited, if indeed it must be inhabited, by a loving, honest, and non-militaristic peoples.

Wayne Franklin, the only writer I know of to take the question of Hakluyt's revision seriously, offers that "the subsequently bleak failures at Roanoke" played a role in the editor's omission (223n.26). His suggestion is well worth pursuing, although I do not share his assumption that Hakluyt took his lead only from such overtly dismal failures as John White's lost colony, since any or all of the many reports to do with various setbacks in Virginia might have prompted the editor's decision to delete the sentence. Hakluyt's revision stikes me as an uncharacteristic instance of the editor's pragmatism, of his stock-taking of a contemporary uncertainty or ambivalence surrounding England's colonial agendas. Although from our late twentieth-century viewpoint it is possible to see that the path to Roanoke helped England to achieve later successes in America, the picture at the turn of the seventeenth century was somewhat pessimistic. The younger Richard Hakluyt, England's foremost trumpeter of westward expansion, possessed an astonishing ability to shake off colossal disasters like the failed enterprises of Frobisher and Gilbert, as he shows in Divers voyages and "Discourse of Western Planting." The narratives of the Roanoke expeditions, however, indicate a slight movement away from the kind of propagandist hoopla that had been in print since Richard Eden first attempted to rouse the English nation out of its colonial apathy and belatedness. This hoopla is still in place, to be sure, but moments of ambivalence in the related texts call attention to a concern that the party in America, before it began, was somehow slowing down.

5

First-encounter narratives never express an indifference towards Amerindians. Even on journeys where no contact with natives was made, and hence not recorded, perceptions of the landscape inevitably anticipate the kinds of peoples imagined to be inhabiting it. One of the most remarkable examples of this proleptical tendency is Captain Thomas James's relation of his 1631-32 attempt to locate the Northwest Passage, "The Strange and dangerovs voyage of Captaine Thomas Iames" (1636), where the (absent) figure of the savage raises a similar kind of fear and paranoia observed in the Frobisher materials. In the absence of any real threat, however, or of any immediate rewards as a result of James' adventures, the account evokes the dangers and delights which *might have* befallen James and his crew: "And although wee haue not discouered populous kingdomes," the writer laments, "and taken speciall notice of their Magnificence, power, and policies, brought samples home of their riches and commodities: pryed into the mysteries of their trades, and traffique: nor made any great fight against the enemies of God and our Nation: yet I wish our willingnesse in these desart parts may be acceptable to our Readers" (O). Here the (absent) figure of the native, a figure embodying throughout the account all of the purported savagery and brutality of the areas on and around Charlton Island where James and his crew had

spent the harsh winter of 1631, substitutes the explorer's failure (or, rather, his euphemistically termed "willingness") for successful performance in the New World.[36]

Since first-encounter narratives express either a negative or positive view of the foreign landscape, images of natives invariably follow with an overt rhetoric of blame or praise. Barlowe's discourse falls into the latter category, of course, so that his favorable impressions of the land are consonant with and help to anticipate his view of the peoples. The day after first encountering one of the locals, for example, Granganimeo, brother to Carolina Algonkian weroance Wingina, came to visit the travellers accompanied by forty or fifty men whom Barlowe describes as "very handsome, and goodly people, and in their behauiour as mannerly, and ciuill, as any of Europe" (98-99). In addition to the many reported bounties of Virginia, what, we might wonder, are the varying modes of Amerindian behaviour which legitimize this rhetoric of praise? Part of the answer lies in Barlowe's attentiveness to native ceremony and to the class structure of Indian society. He observes that the brother of the weroance (or "king," as Barlowe calls him) approached the English accompanied by a group of followers referred to as "servants." These servants spread a mat on the ground where Granganimeo sat, followed by four men, councillors or advisors, while the rest of the natives remained at a distance. Invited to sit, the English did so, at which time Granganimeo showed "all signes of ioy, and welcome, striking on his head, and his breast, and afterwardes on ours, to shewe we were all one, smiling, and making shewe the best hee could, of all loue, and familiaritie." He then gave a long speech, a speech which the English in 1584 did not have the language capabilities to comprehend, after which the visitors "presented him with diuers thinges, which hee receaued very ioyfully, and thankefully" (98-99).

This encounter scene quite usefully demonstrates how English sensitivity and attentiveness toward aboriginal social distinctions and hierarchies inform the rhetoric of praise.[37] In the context of this praise ("as mannerly, and ciuil, as any of Europe"), the elaborate detail with which Barlowe recalls the meeting reflects the extent to which the travellers, themselves steeped in an elaborate tradition of class consciousness and social division, valorize the distinctions they believe they share with their hosts. The English are clearly not as quick to praise natives when they appear as individuals out of the context of their group and social ranking. The day before the arrival of Granganimeo and his train the English brought a native whom they had met onshore to one of their

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[36] In his unpublished dissertation, Edward John Parkinson shows the importance of James's reading market to his narrative of dangers and escapes (see esp. 102, 118, 122, 124). I.S. MacLaren in "Arctic Exploration and Milton's 'Frozen Continent'" suggests that several incidents in James's account may have inspired Milton's images of Hell (326).

[37] Cf. Kupperman, Settling with the Indians *passim*; Greenblatt, Shakespearean Negotiations 26-27.

ships where they gave him a shirt, hat, and some other trifles, and "made" him (Barlowe's word to describe it) taste some wine and meat. Following a guided tour of the two English ships, the native returned to his canoe and began to fish. Barlowe records that in about half an hour, "he had laden his boate as deepe, as it could swimme, with which he came againe to the point of the lande, and there he deuided his fishe into two partes, pointing one part to the shippe, and the other to the Pinnesse: which after he had (as much as he might,) requited the former benefits receaued, he departed out of our sight" (98).

The terse syntax and diction with which the encounter with this individual native is told contrasts with the elaborate relation of the encounter with the group. The lone Virginian spoke many things, Barlowe observes, none of which the English understood. And if they made any attempt to interpret what he was saying, as surely they must have, the man remains speechless in the text, unlike Granganimeo whose utterances, facial expressions, and gesticulations are rendered, for all intents and purposes, perfectly intelligible to his English audience. Likewise, Barlowe sketches out only the bare physical movements of the individual native, while the motivations, thoughts, actions, likes, and dislikes of Granganimeo and his men are accorded a relatively full description and interpretation. The incident in which the lone Indian appears is treated as a point of departure towards something more meaningful, and the fish he offers, a partial fulfillment of a debt arising out of English kindness. The marginal note with which Hakluyt introduces the encounter with the individual in the 1600 Principal navigations, "Conference with a Sauage," conveys none of the wistful anticipation in the side-note introducing Granganimeo, "The arriuall of the kings brother." Hakluyt's marginal note beside the description of the individual native's gesture of reciprocity, "Abundance of fish," subordinates an act of hospitality and friendship to colonialist fantasies of commodities and profits (98 and notes 1, 3, 5).

In contrast to the static matter-of-factness of Barlowe's relation of the above details, the meeting with Granganimeo is told in a more spirited and lyrical prose, its details manipulated in an effort to capture the excitement and grandness of the occasion. Barlowe stage directs the entrance of the king's brother ("the manner of his comming was in this sorte:. . . ."), and gives the main player, Granganimeo, a specific location from where he performs his various roles ("When hee came to *the place*, his seruants spread a long matte vppon the grounde . . . he neuer mooued from *his place*"), animating him with progressive tenses ("striking," "smiling," "making," etc.). An obviously keen histrionic sensibility compels Barlowe to emphasize the role that the English played in the ceremony, as the contrasting diction in the two scenes suggests. While the English *give* presents to the individual native, they *present* gifts to the king's brother. In general, travellers' dealings with the lone man are described in a rather plain style, using lifeless, nondescriptive verbs such as *bring*, *give*, and *make*, while Barlowe stresses English interaction with the native body by utilizing a more elevated prose, one that includes theatrical verbs like *perform* and *present* (99-100). Such verbs suggest not merely a heightened level of English involvement with Granganimeo relative to the

nameless Indian of the previous scene, but also a greater exercise of decorum, political tact, and diplomacy.

To a large extent the overt linguistic and stylistic attention in Barlowe's text to ceremony, rank, and interaction with the Amerindian body reflects the trade and race agendas and ideologies which were taking shape at the end of the sixteenth century. The writer's hyperbolic, caricature-like description of Granganimeo making "all signes of ioy, and welcome, striking on his head, and his breast, and afterwardes on ours, to shewe we were all one, smiling, and making shew the best hee could, of all loue, and familiaritie" establishes the native's favorable disposition towards the strangers, thereby anticipating the "very good exchange[s]" which result to the English when they trade with the Algonkians a day or two later (101). Barlowe's depiction also anticipates a strategic alliance with Granganimeo, a synecdoche of the weroance Wingina, the person of most power and authority in the region. The very use of the word *familiaritie* in the above description of Granganimeo is indicative of the way that the rhetoric of praise stresses both native pleasure at the arrival of their European visitors, an implicit foretaste of fruitful and profitable relations with Indians in the future, and English adherence to an emerging colonial policy of establishing intimate contact, as a means of facilitating New World reportage, with the indigenous population.

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In 1578, before he had received his patent from the queen, Humphrey Gilbert approached Hakluyt the elder, cousin to the younger editor and a lawyer at the Inns of Court who specialized in international trade, for advice on the problems of North American colonization. Intended for Gilbert's expedition of 1578 and possibly for Frobisher's final voyage[38] the same year, the set of notes which Hakluyt drafted express what would soon become a crucial policy in English dealings with others. "Nothing," Hakluyt the elder advises Gilbert,

> is more to be indevoured with the Inland people then *familiaritie*. For so may you best discover al the naturall commodities of their countrey, and also all their wantes, all their strengthes, all their weaknesse, and with whome they are in warre, and with whom confiderate in peace and amitie, &c. whiche knowen, you may woorke many great effectes of greatest consequence. (my emphasis, 24)[39]

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[38] Hakluyt the elder may have influenced the Cathay Company's "Minutes to *Mr. Locke* aboute *Mr. Furbisher* Viage" dated October 29, 1578, in particular this document's call for New World information in various formats. See my chapter one, note 23.

[39] Hakluyt's advice is an extension of Queen Elizabeth's instructions discussed in the first chapter which advise Frobisher and his crew to "procure their frindships and good lykings towardes you by courtesyes [rather] then move them to any offence or

While Ralegh's instructions to Amadas and Barlowe no longer survive, Barlowe's text, in its concern to demonstrate Anglo-American familiarity, clearly engages a similar set of printed and/or orally-transmitted guidelines. I am interested in the ways that travel accounts like Barlowe's engage and are in dialogue with such instructions, and the bearing this interaction has on early modern depictions of Amerindians. The elder Hakluyt's instructions, for example, suggest a possible context for Barlowe's rather off-handed, out-of-place commentary on why he and Amadas were unable to meet with the weroance Wingina himself--why they were unable, that is, to establish familiarity with the person of most power in the region. Barlowe's apologia, interpolated into his account of the meeting with Granganimeo, appears in the following paragraph:

> The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers, and children reuerenced: the King himselfe in person was at our beeing there sore wounded, in a fight which he had with the King of the next Countrey[. He is] called Wingina, and was shotte in two places through the bodye, and once cleane thorough the thigh, but yet he recouered: by reason whereof, and for that hee laye at the chiefe Towne of the Countrey, beeing sixe dayes iourneye off, wee saw him not at all. (100)

Ostensibly, in the retrospective memory of the writer, the silence of Granganimeo's followers, a silence which implies their respect for him, provides a point of departure toward a discussion of the king himself. The paragraph, however, as its initial sentence suggests, is clearly not at all about the Indian community's great reverence for Wingina and his family. The emphasis on Wingina's injury as an explanation of why the English were unable to meet the weroance contrasts with the celebratory mood of the encounter ceremony in which it appears. It creates a jarring effect which calls attention to the interpolative act itself, and provides a good instance of Barlowe's narrative engaging an instructional text like Hakluyt the elder's.

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myslikinge." Hakluyt, however, strategically emphasizes the utitility of familiarity within a framework of information retrieval and recording. His use of the term *familiaritie*, then, in addition to agreeing with the OED, 2nd. ed. definition of "being very friendly or intimate, friendly intercourse; intimacy with (a person)," might also predate Shakespeare's 1601 usage of the word to convey a "close or habitual acquaintance with . . .; constant practical knowledge, habituation." For discussions of Hakluyt's notes for Gilbert, see Quinn, introduction, Divers voyages 1: 12-13 and New American World 3: 23. Christopher Carleill in "A breef and sommarie discourse upon the entended voyage to the hethermost partes of America" (1583) similarly advises travellers to "first grow into familiaritie with the Inland people," since "with freendly entreatie of the people[, the English] may enter into better knowledge of the particuler estate of the Countrey" (Quinn, ed., New American World 3: 30, 33).

The interpolation functions as an apologia at the same time that it responds to a call for martial information of the kind outlined in Hakluyt's guideline. Indeed, details to do with tensions and hostilities between various native polities are fleshed out as Barlowe's narrative continues. In the trade with natives a day or two after the initial Anglo-American encounter, the bright tin dish which Granganimeo valued most out of "all our packet of merchandize" functions not only as an example, in its very brightness and baseness of material, of the kinds of trifles with which the Indians are easily won over; the object has, it turns out, an especial significance and obvious utility to the king's brother:

> [H]e presently tooke vp [the dish], & clapt it before his breast, & after made a hole in the brimme thereof, & hung it about his necke, making signes, that it would defende him against his enemies arrowes: for those people maintaine a deadlie and terrible warre, with the people and King adioyning. . . .They offered vs very good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for kniues, and would haue giuen any thing for swordes: but we would not depart with any. (101)

The narrative thus seems to address the end of Hakluyt's above instruction, "whiche knowen, you may woorke many great effectes of greatest consequence," in that it provides a catalogue of the types of merchandise Virginians most value (i.e. "all their wantes") for the use of subsequent voyagers. Barlowe's text offers additional information to guide subsequent Anglo-Amerindian relations; for example, it suggests to Ralegh and other leaders that Wingina and his people might readily welcome an alliance to help indigenes win the "deadlie and terrible" war against their neighbors, and, more importantly, that such an alliance might prove both economically and strategically advantageous to the English.[40]

As documents written largely to report to leaders and organizers of the 1584-90 voyages, the Roanoke travel narratives mark a significantly new stage in England's transatlantic exploration. The surviving evidence suggests that Hakluyt the elder promoted, more than any other writer with the exception of his editor cousin, the collection of American data by travellers.[41] The theorist's notes to Gilbert precipitated

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[40] In the elder Hakluyt's "Inducements to the like of the voyage intended towards Virginia" (c. 1584), the lawyer advises travellers to form alliances with "this king heere, or with that king there, at our pleasure" in order eventually to "plant in soiles most sweet, most pleasant, most strong, and most fertile, and in the end bring [the inhabitants] in subiection and to civilitie." The inducements were first published in the second impression of John Brereton's "A Brief and true Relation of the Discovuerie of the North part of Virginia" (1602) Dr -E2v.

[41] Anthony Parkhurst's two surviving letters to Hakluyt on the subject of Newfoundland are obviously responses to requests for information. In his letter of 1577-78 Parkhurst

the rise of a more systematic approach to western discovery and reporting than had been previously imagined by those who directed the course of England's American initiatives. Elsewhere in the instructions, the lawyer calls for travellers to make "great observation" and to take "perfect note" of New World phenomena (25-26). This direction led to an unprecedented focus on American geography, topography, ecology, and ethnography. A similar preoccupation with knowledge of new lands informs the elder Hakluyt's 1580 instructions to Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman, sent to discover the Northeast Passage by merchants of the Moscovy Company. The theorist instructs the travellers "to set downe in plat" the land's geographic features as a means of aiding future explorers. They were also expected to "take a speciall view" and "to note" the inhabitants' military strength and living conditions as fully as possible, even if the explorers had to "give a gesse of many things" (147, 151-52).

While they were written with specific audiences and voyages in mind, the elder Hakluyt's notes for Gilbert and instructions to Pet and Jackman clearly had potential uses outside those for which they were intended. The younger Hakluyt printed the 1578 guidelines in the Divers voyages (1582), as well as in the first and revised (1589; 1598-1600) versions of the Principall navigations, under a heading which assured readers that the document was "not unfitt to be committed to print, considering the same may stirre up considerations of these and of such other thinges, not unmeete in such new voyages as may be attempted hereafter." Likewise, the title of the lawyer's advice to Pet and Jackman published in the same volumes includes the clause "not altogether unfit for some other enterprises of discoverie, heerafter to be taken in hand." The collaborative efforts and writings of the two cousins suggest, as Fuller points out, an immediate interest not in "the romance or exoticism of far-away places, different customs, and so on, but . . . an economic geography of exports and imports, a global system of classification and relation able to assign to each place what pertains to it."[42] By

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conveys something of Hakluyt's passion for and commitment to New World knowledge and expansion: "I have byn bold to send yow certain nootes tutchynge the newe founde land, the rather for that I perceved, at my last beynge with yow at the corte, by yo^{r} rejoysyng hart, what joy yo^{we} conceved to here any thynge that might benefyt yor cuntry. And then weying the redynesse of yor good nature, so prest to further sutche matter by sygnyfyinge the same to the grave counsellors of this land" (123). In 1578 Parkhurst lauds what he calls Hakluyt's "travelling mind and pen," a phrase which may indicate, as E.G.R. Taylor suggests, that the theorist had by this date written more than the "Notes" for Gilbert (The Original Writings 1: 127n.2), although no materials attributed to him before this date survive.

[42] Queen Elizabeth's letter to the Persian Shah printed in the Principal Nauigations, which identifies commerce as integral to divine plan, sums up much of the two Hakluyts' thinking on the subject of international trade: "so hath God . . . disposed of our affaires on earth, that ech one should need other" (qtd. in Fuller 144-45; cf. Williamson 22-23).

printing the above originally private instructions in texts intended for public consumption the two Hakluyts offered a schematic for travellers venturing to all regions previously unexplored. Their explicit, public call for information to do with unfamiliar regions in both Old and New Worlds sought to feed the theorists' main interest in ascertaining what the younger Hakluyt describes in the 1589 Principall navigations as the "speciall commodities, & particular wants" in various parts of the world, "which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied" (1: sig. *2). In their collaborative effort to fill empty spaces (or spaces perceived as empty) with English goods and an English presence, the Hakluyts paid little heed to the many discrepancies between Old and New Worlds that were the result of vastly disparate geographies and ethnographies; indeed, the younger Hakluyt seems to have considered his cousin's advice for expeditions along the northern coast of Russia and to Persia perfectly appropriate and translatable to an American experience (cf. Fuller 144).

The elder Hakluyt also took part, along with George Peckham, Martin Frobisher, and the younger Hakluyt, in the compilation of the 1582-83 set of instructions for a reconnaisssance to southern Norumbega organized by George Peckham and Thomas Gerrard, under the joint or several command of William Stanley, Richard Bingham, and Frobisher (Quinn, ed., New American World 3: 239). Although for some unknown reason this voyage failed to take place, the instructions provide a detailed look at the kinds of American data that travellers around the time of Barlowe's expedition were required to bring home. (And that the explorers were expected to return with such information is certain: article 36 of the June 1582 agreement drawn up between Gerrard, Peckham, Stanley, Frobisher, and other participants stipulates that details of the expedition were to be "entered in a journal, which shall be delivered to Sir Thomas and Sir George, with mappes cardes observacions and notes" [Quinn, ed., Voyages and Colonising Enterprises 2: 260]). The captain's instructions, for example, set out his responsibility to ensure that all topographical, ecological, geographical, and ethnographical data were meticulously recorded in both journal and "drawen plott" or chart forms. He was advised to assign one explorer to note the natives' agrigultural methods, and another to record

> the statures Conditions apparell and manner of foode, which of them be men eaters with the thinges that they in every particuler place shall most esteme either of their owne Contrye commodyties or of ours. Noting also the greatnes and quantetie of every distinct Kinges Contryes people and forces and in What manner they arme and order them selfes in Warres and who are Freindes or enemies to each other of them noting preciselye the particuler places where every suche observacions are to be made as well in the Journall as platt. (240)

And yet a third man to detail "the dyversitie of their languages and in what places their speache beginnethe to alter as nere as you can both in the Journall & platt. And the same man to Carry with him an Englishe dictionarie with the Englishe wordes before therin to sett downe their language" (240).

Included in the 1582-83 instructions are guidelines for Thomas Bavin, the artist/surveyor who journeyed with Gilbert, as well as a detailed catalogue of the various supplies and instruments Bavin was expected to carry with him at all times. These included "a good store of parchments, Paper Ryall, Quills, and Inck, black powder to make yncke, and of all sortes of colours to drawe all thinges to life, gumme, pensyll, a stone to grinde Colours, mouth glue, black leade, 2 payres of brazen Comppasses, And other Instrumentes to drawe cardes and plottes" (242).[43] The instructions provided Bavin with an attendant to make sure that he never travelled without at least two writing tables on which to draw and chart, another attendant to keep him supplied with his illustrating tools and materials, and "somme others" to accompany him with other instruments and equipment (242). That this delineation of provisions repeats one made earlier under the captain's instructions suggests that the authors wanted to ensure that Bavin had with him the supplies, instruments, and labour necessary to record information in an efficient and accurate manner (240-41). The additional fact that Bavin was provided with at least three or four men (compared with, say, the ship's master who was allocated only one) suggests both that the expedition's organizers considered the position of artist/surveyor to be one of considerable importance and that Bavin would have held a relatively prominent status in the voyage.

Paul Hulton observes that, while Ralegh's 1585 instructions to John White and Thomas Harriot no longer survive, the 1582-83 notes for Bavin were well suited for the artist/surveyor and the scientist (America 1585 9; cf. Quinn, Set Fair for Roanoke 49). Indeed, the plans and instructions for the 1582-83 reconnaissance would not have been discarded and new ones for the 1584 or 1585 voyages written entirely from scratch because older instructions (much like letters patent) were in most cases simply retooled and updated to meet the requirements of subsequent voyages. Guidelines for at least the initial voyage to Roanoke did exist, as Barlowe indicates at the beginning of his 1584 account addressed to Ralegh: "The 27. day of Aprill . . . we departed the west of England [Plymouth], with two barkes, well furnished with men and victuals, hauing

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[43] The elder Hakluyt's final instruction in the "Inducements to the liking of the voyage intended towards Virginia in 40. and 42. degrees of latitude" expresses the need for a painter on colonial voyages: "A skilfull painter is also to be caried with you which the Spaniards used commonly in all their discoveries to bring the descriptions of all beasts, birds, fishes, trees, townes, &c." (338). For attempts to learn more about the identity of the relatively unknown Bavin, see Quinn, ed., New American World 3: 239 and England and the Discovery of America 374-75. See also E.G.R. Taylor's discussion in "Instructions to a Colonial Surveyor in 1582" of his unsuccessful efforts to locate a single chart or map drawn by Bavin.

receyued our last, and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions, and commandements deliuered by your selfe at our leauing the riuer of Thames" (92). Taken as a whole, the 1582-83 guidelines tell us a great deal about the kinds of information theorists considered imperative to American settlement and exploitation around the time of the Roanoke reconnaissance. Its authors pay considerable attention to the practical and logistical aspects of describing, mapping, and illustrating North America, as is reflected in catalogues of the materials and equipment the artist/surveyor and his attendants were required to carry, and in provisions for the time constraints under which explorers were expected to work (243). The document thus reflects the pragmatic concerns and viewpoints of the two Hakluyts, as well as of those who had some prior first-hand experience of America, such as Martin Frobisher, Humphrey Gilbert, Sir William Stanley, and Richard Bingham.

I focus on these little-known guidelines mainly for two reasons. First, when we consider the belatedness of the English to incorporate graphic description into their accounts of America relative to other European nations, their uniqueness to and significance in the development of Renaissance English colonial theory and practice becomes even more evident. Neither the first major non-literary text on America written in English, Eden's 1555 translation of Peter Martyr's Decades, nor Hakluyt's Divers voyages of 1582, include visual depictions of America and its inhabitants, even though such images were commonplace in European travel accounts and compilations such as Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (1537-47), Giovanni Battista Ramusio's *Navigationi e Viaggi* (1550-59), Girolamo Benzoni's *Historia del Mondo Nuovo* (1565), André Thevet's *Singularitez de la France Antarctique* (1558), and Jean de Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la Terre du Brésil* (1580). The elder Hakluyt's 1585 advice to Ralegh that he would do well to follow the example of Spain by sending "A skilfull painter" to America (see my note 42) came a full decade after a team of artists working under Franciso Hernandez in Mexico had produced fifteen volumes of illustrations for Philip II of Spain (see Hulton, America 1585 3). England in fact made no sustained effort to visually depict the New World until Ralegh, following Hakluyt's advice, sent John White on the Grenville expedition of 1585.[44] In 1590, at the younger Hakluyt's urging, the Flemish publisher Theodor de

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[44] Around the same time Francis Drake was, according to his Portuguese pilot, "an adept at painting," spending much of his time working away in his cabin on birds, trees, and sea lions (qtd. in Alexander 7-8). Drake's artist, Baptista Boazio, also made drawings of natural history subjects, and of the Spanish bases attacked by Drake (Keeler 19). A handful of scholars suspect that White first travelled to the Outer Banks with Amadas and Barlowe in 1584, although his name is not on the ship's list. The evidence for this earlier voyage is White's letter to Hakluyt the younger dated February 4, 1593, in which the artist refers to "the successe of my fift [fifth] & last voiage to Virginia," despite the fact that he is only mentioned in the voyages of 1585-86, 1587, 1588, and 1590. See Quinn, ed., Virginia Voyages 116, 168n.3; Hulton, America 1585 6-15; and Durant 25-26.

Bry rendered White's Virginia drawings into engravings for the first part of his America series. Accompanied by textual descriptions from Harriot's "A Briefe and true report," this influential volume publicized England's Roanoke achievements in four languages, English, Latin, French, and German, in what was a risky but highly successful publishing venture (cf. Mancall, "The Age of Discovery" 41).

An examination of the 1582-83 instructions is important for a second, more important reason here as it helps us clarify some possible explanations for the Roanoke writers' adherence to a golden age perceptual framework. At first glance, the set of guidelines is a pragmatic call, one reflecting the rudiments of a scientific enquiry, for the types of geographical, topographical, ecological, and ethnographical data which would, colonialists hoped, enable the English to establish a firm foothold in North America. The 1582-83 instructions, and the ones authored by the elder Hakluyt which preceded them, anticipate a new way of thinking about the New World, one that, while hardly a program, edged perceptibly beyond dogma and past authority in order to stress the need for epistemologies based on new experience.[45] As groundbreaking as this set of instructions might appear, however, its inherent contradictions undermine the text at certain critical moments. Calling attention to the fact that Bavin would have to perform his duties within a very limited time frame, the compilers of the instructions directed the artist to approach his work as a draft which could be filled in at a later date: "[Y]ou

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[45] The development of a more objective line of enquiry, hinted at in the work of Thomas Harriot and John White, would later give rise to Baconian empiricism and Cartesian skepticism. Whether or not it was possible to achieve knowledge beyond that of the ancient authorities was, of course, a much debated issue during the Renaissance. Louis LeRoy, professor of Greek at the Université de Paris, argued in *De la vicissitude ou varieté des choses* (Paris, 1575) that new knowledge was not only possible but that its pursuit was intrinsic to human society. LeRoy's work was translated by Robert Ashley, "Of the Interchangeable Covrse, or Variety of Things in the Whole World, and the Concvrrence of Armes and Learning, thorough the first and famousest Nations: from the beginning of Ciuility, and Memory of man, to this Present" (1594). See especially the twelfth and final book, "Whether it be Trve, or No, that there can be nothing said, which hath not bin said before; And that we must by our owne Inuentions, augment the Doctrine of the Auncients" (Z1-Z2). Anthony Pagden's European Encounters is an excellent study of the so-called quarrel between the ancients and moderns which broke out in the late seventeenth century, esp. 12, 84, 90, and 92. Cf. also Lesley B. Cormack's recent discussion of "iconic transformations to modernity," in particular her warning that "[m]any stories and many voices tell different facets of the development [of modernity]; they cannot be blended into a single explanatory tale" (11). Cormack includes a useful bibliography of studies which debunk appeals to single master narratives (implied in such terms as "Renaissance," "Reformation," or "Scientific Revolution") to explain the transformation taking place, 10n.12.

shall not neede to sett downe any lyne for devision of degrees in any of your first draftes in paper before all your plottes be perfectlye fynished for losse of tyme" (243). One possible consequence of this time restriction was that the artist/surveyor might have felt encouraged, had he travelled to the New World as planned, to look for and depict American phenomena in terms of broad generic distinctions and, ironically, sameness. The illustrator was advised, for instance, to "draw to lief one of each kinde of thing that is strange to us in England by the which [Bavin] may alweis garnishe his plott as he shall so course uppon his retourne. As by the portraiture of one Cedar Tree he may drawe all the woodes of that sorte and as in this so[rte] may he doe the like in *all thinges ells*" (my emphasis, 243). The ostensible focus on the unfamiliar in this instruction, which evidently extended to Amerindians as well, is subverted by a theoretical emphasis on, and apparent investment in, the sameness of American phenomena, by what seems to have been the belief that if Bavin had witnessed one cedar or Indian then he had seen them all.[46]

It is not unlikely that the pressures of time might have exacerbated for the artist what was already a notoriously difficult and complex problem of depicting New World details, especially, as several contemporary European artists had complained, its inhabitants. While Oviedo, for example, wished in the *Historia* for the skills of his friends Leonardo or Mantegna to help him portray Amerindians, de Léry elaborated in the *Histoire* the specific problems he experienced depicting the anatomy of Brazilians: "Although I diligently perused and marked those barbarian people, for a whole year together, wherin I lived amongst them, so as I might conceive in my mind a certain proportion of them, yet I say, by reason of their diverse gestures and behaviours, utterly different from ours, it is a very difficult matter to express their true proportion . . . but if anyone covet to enjoy the full pleasure of them, I could wish him to go into America himself" (qtd. in Alexander 7-8; cf. Dickason 16-17). Given the challenges of representing Amerindians, it is not surprising that even John White, the artist most successful in his attempts to portray natives accurately, included two Timucua among

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[46] Indeed, John Smith seems to have felt that the natives of Virginia were indistinguishable from those of the Outer Banks. In an insert of several engravings borrowed from de Bry's renderings of White's Virginians, Smith in the 1624 Generall Historie of Virginia writes: "The Countrey wee now call Virginia beginneth at Cape Henry distant from Roanoack 60 miles, where was S^{r} Walter Raleigh's plantation: and because the people differ very little from them of Powhatan in any thing, I have inserted those figures in this place because of the conveniency." Images of Smith are grafted onto these engravings and depict him interacting in a variety of heroic and diplomatic ways with "Carolina Algonkians." Among their peculiar effects, these engravings suggest a multiply omnipotent Smith who can defend against Indians and interact with them in other ways not merely in Powhatan territory but in its distant surrounding regions. And since de Bry's engravings of Indians are heavily classicized, the grafted Smith images also transport his heroism to the level of myth (see Smith, Insert).

his illustrations even though none of the English colonists had travelled to Florida. Not only do these illustrations confirm that the artist had copied the work of his mentor, French Huguenot artist Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues,[47] but also that efforts to depict Amerindians realistically were often subordinated to the use of images sometimes considered perfectly isomorphic. White's usage of such transplanted (but at least "American") representations is in any case a step up the ladder of accurate depiction when compared with Le Moyne's savages who look, as Dickason points out, "rather as if they had stepped out from the Coliseum" (16), or with the even more chiseled and Europeanized figures that Theodor de Bry rendered to appeal to audiences that did not, or so the engraver must have believed, possess much desire to know how England's American others actually appeared.[48]

The emphasis on sameness in the 1582-83 instructions seems to anticipate the conclusion of the document, a conclusion which undermines the text still further by asserting what is *already* "knowen by experyence to be in the countryes" according to the authority of André Thevet, Giovanni da Verrazzano, and others:

> The soyle ys most excellent plesaunt fertill and of champyon replenished with pastures and meadowes interlarded with woodes most plesaunt to behould as may be imagined of Cedars Cidorus Pynes Firre and Spruce trees . . . with many other sortes of trees unknowen to us of Europe which yelde most sweet savores the most of them all growing in rowes as yf they had bynne sett artefically by hand, making therby most delicate walkes, there are also grapes of sondrye sortes...waxe and hony and also spices as Verarsanus thought[.] There are also pease hempe strawberyes blackberyes red and white roses damaske roses parsley rosemary with sondry other good hearbes & flowers Also muske myllion Pompines gourdes Cocombers Violettes Lyllies and sondrye sortes of oderyferous

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[47] Le Moyne, official artist of René de Laudonnière's colonizing expedition to Florida (1563-65), had sketched the material culture of the Timucua and mapped their lands before narrowly escaping massacre by the Spaniards in 1564. Early in the 1580s, the artist, fleeing religious persecution, settled in Blackfriars, London, where he developed his Florida sketches into a series of watercolors, which de Bry engraved for the second part of America (1591). White met Le Moyne in London sometime before the Roanoke expeditions. As Hulton's comparison of the two artists' works indicates, there was a great deal of interaction and exchange of ideas between them (see America 1585 8-9, 127; Hulton, The Work of Jacques Le Moyne *passim*).

[48] Quinn notes the enduring popularity of de Bry's images: "For generations engravers seeking illustrations for travel books about America, North or even South, lazily went to de Bry and copied and modified for their own purposes [his] engravings" (Set Fair for Roanoke 418).

> flowers differing from ours . . . There ys also Thrushes Stork doves pigeons turtles Cranes Swannes Ducks Geese Fesauntes partheriges black birdes goldfynches . . . Bevars Wolfes Foxes red dere Fallowe Deere Martens . . . Hares Conyes Otters Weasells Badgers Also a great beast like a bull . . . called a Buffall . . . There are also good havens and sondry navigable ryvers The coste shore deepe with great plenty of freshe water fishe . . . There is also plenty of Salt to be made. There is also plenty of copper Sylver and somme gold which they accompt the besest metall. They have also rubies, jaspers, marble, allablaster Freestone and other sondry sortes of Stones of dyvers colours that the place ys like to be most riche and plesaunt. Yt was told Sir Humfrye Gylbart by 2 or 3 of the best sort bothe by office skill and judgment that accompanied Sir Francis Drake in his viage about the world that the most excellentest place that they sawe in all their Vyage bothe for fertilitie pleasure and profytt every kinde of way as well mynnerall as otherwayes was about 45 Degrees of Latitude. And as one of his [presumably Drake's] Quarter masters told him [presumably Gilbert] they sawe an Island in Marii de Sur called de Malco which lay in 46 degrees of Latitude which excelled every kinde of waye all the rest or att the least was Second to no other place that ever they sawe in that their Travaill and Navigation. (244-45)[49]

I am interested here mainly in the authors' use of dubious eyewitness testimony and hearsay evidence in such instructions which have avoided, until this moment, any kind of promotional hoopla. The equally exaggerated representations of the two locations--the one described as "the most excellentest place" and the other as a region which "excelled all the rest"--foreground the eagerness of theorists such as the two Hakluyts and Peckham to hyperbolize in even their most carefully planned and articulated assessments of North America. The appearance of the propagandists' idealized vision of the New World at the conclusion of guidelines which otherwise privilege utilitarian-based knowledge over authority derived from speculation and dogma is certainly a curious one. The instructions thus seem to embody the conflicting interests of the many key players in the planned expedition so that the hyperbolic conclusion, replete with the standard topoi of the golden age, problematizes the intentions of the instructions--the systematic gathering and recording of clear, objective data for the use of organizers and sponsors.

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[49] The record of Verrazzano's 1524-28 expeditions to the North American coast from about modern South Carolina to Cape Breton appeared, along with accounts of Cartier's explorations, in Ramusio's *Navigationi et viaggi* (vol. 3, 1556). See Wroth 165-68. On the younger Hakluyt's use of Verrazzano as an authority in the Divers voyages of 1582, see Quinn, England and the Discovery of America 172.

The conflicted agenda in such instructions appears to have led to something of a double mission for many travellers, whose attention as they sought American information was oriented toward the new, but in a way reminiscent of the golden age myth as it was first appropriated and utilized by Columbus in his images of the New World. Barlowe seems to find evidence of such a golden world nearly everywhere he turns, most clearly in relation to the Carolina Algonkians whom we have seen described as "most gentle, loving, faithfull, void of all guile, and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age." At the same time, depictions of these static, Columbianesque figures do suggest that life in Virginia was not all that the writer had made it seem. Clearly at odds with the golden age topoi in Barlowe's account is the use of an overt militaristic idiom, a descriptive apparatus which, if not reflective of an actual anxiety to do with Anglo-American conflict, at least casts serious doubts on the authenticity of the writer's idyllic imagery. After taking possession of Virginia, the English stood on a hill overlooking a valley of "goodly Cedar trees" and were inspired to fire off their weapons. Barlowe recalls the landscape's reaction to the sound of the harquebus: "[S]uch a flocke of Cranes . . . arose vnder vs, with such a crye redoubled by many Ecchoes, as if an armie of men had showted all together" (96). In the writer's description of this the first recorded gunshot in modern North Carolina, the Virginian landscape reacts to the blast in such a way that celebrates the power and potential of the military technology. The choice of simile, "as if an armie of men had showted all together," suggests, if not a fear of savage ambush, then at least a sensitivity towards the potential militaristic outcome of English intrusion. Barlowe's depiction of the landscape's response also provides a foretaste of the Amerindians' own reaction to guns. "When we discharged any peece," he later describes, "were it but a harquebush, they would tremble thereat for very feare, and for the strangenes of the same" (112). The two passages thus help to convey the impression that America and its inhabitants could easily be subdued by superior European technologies. The trope of the easy containment of the New World and its peoples was, of course, popular in Renaissance travel writings.[50]

Casual comparisons describing the physical distance between the English and the Indians, descriptions for example of a canoe "foure harquebus shot from our shippes" and a lone native fishing "two bowe shoote into the water," evoke a similar sense of the potentially confrontational nature of contact with indigenes. While such descriptions are not uncommon in other European travel accounts of the period, idiomatic expressions which mirror the martial-centrism of Renaissance imperialists, they create a jarring effect in a text like Barlowe's which repeatedly disavows any signs

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[50] Greenblatt discusses Thomas Harriot's "A Briefe and true report" as a particularly emphatic account of the European technologies--compasses, mathematical instruments, fireworks, clocks, guns, books, writing, and reading--which Harriot felt endowed the English with God-like capabilities in the eyes of Amerindians. See "Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and its Subversion."

of conflict with the Virginians. Even more discordant is the author's rather peculiar observation that one of the locals, when greeted onshore by Barlowe and four other top-ranking officials, "never ma[de] any shewe of feare, or doubt" (98), as if such a reaction was completely unexpected. The remark is perhaps the result of an unwritten but felt contrast between Barlowe's own fear or doubt to do with his or the Englishmen's arrival on the strange and distant shore, a sense of their own foreignness as it were, and the outward sense of the inhabitant's ease. It may signal as well a kind of disappointment that the arrival of the expedition's five leaders, undoubtedly armed and prepared for conflict should it arise, failed to arouse even the slightest sign of alarm in the lone Indian.[51] Whatever psychology is at work here and elsewhere, a constant factor in Barlowe's portrayals of Virginia and its peoples is a descriptive apparatus which suggests the writer's preoccupation with potential conflict, a preoccupation which throws into serious question his parallel between the golden age and America.

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A clearer picture of Barlowe's rhetoric of praise emerges when we look at English expressions of approval for natives in the context in which they appear. Notably, Barlowe's comparison of the Algonkians to inhabitants of the golden age follows the account of the travellers' first landing on Roanoke Island, where they were greeted by Granganimeo's wife, whose husband, Barlowe points out, was absent from the village. She commanded several natives to draw the English boat ashore and to carry the crew to dry ground. Apparently not yet sure of the honest nature of their hosts, the English expressed concern that some of the Indians might try to steal their oars so the chief's brother's wife ordered her people to bring them inside her longhouse. The visitors were then led into this dwelling, where, Barlowe writes, she invited them to sit by a fire,

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[51] Barlowe's comment, implying as it does that the English gave the man no cause for worry, might also reflect a rhetorical strategy aimed at conveying the sense that English travellers treated the indigenes with colonial policies of fairness and familiarity in mind. This reading makes sense in the context. Immediately following the observation that the native never showed any fear or doubt, Barlowe recalls that the man came aboard the English vessel of his own volition (i.e. and not as a result of English force): "And after he had spoken of many things not vnderstoode by vs, we brought him *with his owne good liking* [i.e. his earnest consent] aboord the shippes, and gaue him a shirt, a hatte, and some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meate, which he liked very well" (my emphasis, 98). As I discussed in the previous chapter, such pieces of information to do with the treatment of natives seem defensively to anticipate some form of censure from colonial officials.

> and after tooke off our clothes, and washed them, and dried them again: some of the women pulled off our stockings, and washed them, some washed our feete in warme water, and shee her selfe tooke great paines to see all thinges ordered in the best manner shee coulde, making great haste to dresse some meate for vs to eate. After we had thus dried our selues, shee brought vs into the inner roome, where shee set on the boord standing along the house, some wheate like furmentie, sodden Venison, and roasted fishe sodden, boyled, and roasted, Melons rawe, and sodden, rootes of diuers kindes, and diuers fruites: their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth, they drinke wine, and for want of caskes to keepe it all the yeere after, they drinke water, but it is sodden with Ginger in it, and blacke Sinamon, and sometimes Sassaphras, and diuers other wholesome, and medicinable hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all loue, and kindnes, and with as much bountie, after their manner, as they could possibly deuise. We found the people most gentle, louing, and faithfull, void of all guile, and treason, and such as liued after the manner of the golden age. The earth bringeth foorth all things in aboundance, as in the first creation, without toile or labour. (107-08)

Barlowe's commendation of the natives and their land thus appears rather occasion specific, evoked by the memory of the lavish banquet the Amerindians spread out for their guests. It is probably no coincidence that the inhabitants mentioned here seem to be entirely female, or at least no coincidence that the writer's descriptive imagination pays particularly close notice to the attentive hospitalities of women, so that a case could also be made for the gender-specificity of Barlowe's general praise for natives. Michael Hattaway's comment that the Virginian narratives are on the whole "notably lacking in sexual content" (191n. 28) may thus require qualification: while Barlowe's depictions of Granganimeo's wife and the other native women indicate little in an explicit way about the subject of male heterosexual fantasy and desire, his images of women unclothing, bathing, feeding, and otherwise attending to the needs of men recall persistent imperialist/masculinist fantasies at work in travellers' tales of encounters with races of exotic women.[52] At least one Renaissance writer familiar with the Roanoke

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[52] See Columbus's relation of Matenino, a supposed island of women in the Caribbean, in his letter to the sovereigns dated March 4, 1493. Margarita Zamora recently translated into English this newly discovered version of the more famous official letter to Santángel and Sánchez, officials of the Crown of Aragón, in "Christopher Columbus's 'Letter to the Sovereigns': Announcing the Discovery." Cf. also Columbus's rather provocative images of native women in the *Diario* esp. 315, 343, 347; Vespucci's Lettera described in Colin 17; and Thevet's *Cosmographie* in Schlesinger and Stabler, eds., 29. The critical literature on the subject is also vast but see in particular Annette Kolodny's first two chapters in Lay of the Land--"Unearthing Herstory" 3-9 and

accounts apparently believed that his contemporaries would readily understand if not appreciate a parallel between the female inhabitants of Virginia and a fantasy-like realm of women. Around 1609 John Healey published "The discovery of a new world or A Description of the South Indies," a translation of Joseph Hall's *Mundus alter* (c. 1605), a fictitious travel work which parodies popular travel narratives. Book two gives an account of "Shee-landt, or Womandeçoia," a country where, as Healey describes it, "the soil is very fruitful, but badly husbanded." He adds that some people mistake the name and inhabitants of Womandeçoia for the territory and populace of Wingandecoia, the supposed Carolina Algonkian name for the Roanoke areas,[53] and thus make it part of Virginia (G7v-H1).

What is perhaps most important in Barlowe's text is not merely what the writer observes but the fact that he was not interested in recording either the presence or the actions of the aboriginal males who were also present at the banquet. This absence of native males may in part be owing to Barlowe's representational practice which tends, we have seen, to give most attention to persons with greatest authority. The writer's focus on authority is especially strong when the highest-ranking individual present is also female (although we notice that Barlowe gives her no name in his text, referring to her only in a way that expresses her substitutive value [i.e. "Granganimeo's wife"]). Barlowe's account of the woman's generosity extends to a celebration of the landscape's

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"Surveying the Virgin Land: The Documents of Exploration and Colonization, 1500-1740" 10-25. Two of the most important studies to pick up on themes in Kolodny's work are Patricia Parker's rhetorical analysis of the gendering of America as female, and as waiting for her conqueror or lover in "Rhetorics of Property: Exploration, Inventory, Blazon" in Literary Fat Ladies 126-53, and Louis Montrose on the sexualizing of the exploration, conquest, and settlement of the New World in Ralegh's "The Discoverie of Guiana" in "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery." See also Ania Loomba for an insightful reading of the patriarchal assumptions informing issues of race and gender in early modern England.

[53] Barlowe and Amadas first reported "Wingandacon" as the Virginian name for the Roanoke areas. In the History of the world (1614), Ralegh suggests that his employees, like the Spanish in Peru, were somewhat over zealous in their interpretation of Amerindian place names: "[S]ome of the Spaniards vtterly ignorant of that language, demaunding by signes (as they could) the name of the Countrie, and pointing with their hand athwart a riuer, or torrent, or brooke that ran by, the Indians answered Peru which was either the name of that brooke, or of water in generall. . . .The same hapned among the English, which I sent. . . .For when some of my people asked the name of that Countrie, one of the Saluages answered *Wingandacon* which is to say, as you weare good clothes, or gay clothes" (first numeration, 175-76). Ralegh probably learned this more accurate translation from Thomas Harriot, who had worked with the two Algonkians, Manteo and Wanchese, brought back in 1584 (see my note 4).

bounty and fertility, of what Kolodny terms the "essential femininity of the terrain" (5; cf. Shephard 98, 108). The absence of native males augments this celebration, gives it lift, and enables the author to convey an implicit catalogue of the fruits, pleasures, and delights of Roanoke Island that are entirely available to the Englishmen who have been written into the banquet scene, supplanting or erasing the native males in an act of linguistic expropriation. The perception of Amerindians as living after the manner of the golden age thus seems an exhilarating, indeed potentially titillating interpolation aimed at a male audience and reflects a set of shared patriarchal assumptions about the privileges and benefits of an American conquest and the pleasures awaiting would-be colonialists and settlers.

Events at the banquet quickly turned ugly, as we see in the next scene in which Barlowe's reverie is interrupted by the sudden entrance of two or three men who had just returned from a hunting trip:

> While we were at meate, there came in at the gates, two or three men with their bowes, and arrowes, from hunting, whome when we espied, we beganne to looke one to wardes another, and offered to reach our weapons: but assoone as she [Granganimeo's wife] espied our mistrust, she was very much mooued, and caused some of her men [i.e. those already present] to runne out, and take away their bowes, and arrowes, and breake them, and withall beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the euening, and would not tarry all night, she was very sorie, and gaue vs into our boate our supper halfe dressed, pots, and all, and brought vs to our boates side, in which wee laye all night, remoouing the same a pretie distance from the shoare: shee perceiuing our iealousie, was much grieued, and sent diuers men, and thirtie women, to sitte all night on the bankes side by vs, and sent vs into our boates fine mattes to couer vs from the rayne, vsing very many wordes to intreate vs to rest in their houses: but because wee were fewe men, and if wee had miscarried, the voyage had beene in very great daunger, wee durst not aduenture any thing, although there was no cause of doubt: for a more kinde and louing people, there can not be found in the world, as farre as we haue hitherto had triall. (109-10)

What is it about the entrance of these two or three men--members, supposedly, of an idyllic, pacific community--that causes the English such considerable anxiety? There is certainly some story hinted at in the look which the English exchange with their countrymen but the author suppresses this narrative. Likewise, Barlowe does not indicate the events that occurred in the temporal gap between the beating of these two or three men "out of the gate *againe*," a detail I emphasize for the reason that it suggests this was at least the second time that the men had to be physically removed from the party, and the point at which the visitors considered it wise to break away from their hosts, to spend a rainy evening in boats put out a good distance from shore, despite the

many gestures of kindness and the frequent entreaties of Granganimeo's wife to spend the night with the locals. The apparent reason for the anxiety has to do with an awareness that the Indians outnumbered the English, that, as Barlowe puts it, "if wee had miscarried, the voyage had beene in very great daunger." It does not require much stretch of the imagination to locate a not inconceivable sexual subtext informing Barlowe's fear that his men might "miscarry." The elisions and gaps in Barlowe's text could thus be seen as an attempt to conceal or disavow inappropriate or potentially inappropriate relations with the native women. The author's reticence on the subject of his crew's interactions with the women might also help explain the evident surprise the following year of the people of Granganimeo's brother, the weroance Wingina, when they observed that the English took no interest in their women. Thomas Harriot describes this English lack of interest in native women in the context of explaining the Indian belief that their visitors were immortal because they did not exhibit any of the traditional urges of mortal men (379-80). His observation may also serve as an affirmation of the commendable sexual abstinence of the English, and as an indicator of how travel writers work to legitimize the explicit or implicit claims made in the texts of fellow writers.

The banquet scene and the tensions with Indian men suggest a few of the patriarchal assumptions behind images of indigenes as living after the manner of the golden age. The celebratory mood of the former scene, which abounds in the generosity of both land and women, is marked by the exclusion of native men, and this mood takes a very sudden downturn at the appearance of two or three threatening male others. Even in Barlowe's disjointed, anticlimactic recollection of the presence of these men, one marked by its resonating absences, the author can still vividly recall the many kind gestures of Granganimeo's wife, her various attentions to the Englishmen's mistrust and doubt, as well as, in contrast to the vague outline of "diuers men," the precise figure of "thirtie women" sent to sit all night on the banks closest to the English ships. These are impressive observations indeed given that they were apparently made at a considerable distance, in the dark and rain.

8

Quinn has asserted that Barlowe's narrative "well deserves its high reputation as one of the clearest contemporary pictures of the contact of Europeans with North American Indians. Its ethnological value is substantial." As well, in the text he locates "many passages" which are "clearly the result of direct personal experience." These are bold assertions indeed given that Quinn himself has been forced to concede that "for the historian its omissions are exasperating."[54] His effort to locate a "truth value" in Barlowe's account is valuable, moreso perhaps in light of Fuller's recent comment:

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[54] See Quinn, introduction, Roanoke Voyages 1: 15, 17. Quinn basis his reading of the narrative's ethnological importance mainly on pages 99-114, the section of the narrative dealing with those Anglo-American contacts discussed above: the encounter with the

> It matters that these things [voyages to America] really happened, and that they were recorded by men who had experienced and witnessed them. . . .Being written was an important component *of* their happening, and this is true in a strong sense. The voyage narratives came into being not only as after-the-fact accounts for ideological purposes, but as an integral part of the activities they documented. (2; cf. Edwards 7, Helgerson 151)

Although the geographical, ecological, and ethnographical data in Barlowe's text reflects to some (indeterminable) extent the traveller's American experience, studies of Barlowe's and other early colonial texts require a high degree of caution and skepticism for the reason that the disparate agendas of those who wrote (and edited) them often blur any distinction between fact and fiction. Consider briefly the images of Virginia in the writings of Ralph Lane--matter really for a whole other study in contradiction and inconsistency but nonetheless illustrative of my point here. In Lane's narrative of the first colony, the soldier expresses the pragmatic though pessimistic view that America would not be worth the trouble to inhabit permanently unless the English discovered either a "good mine" or a "passage to the Southsea" (272-73). His letter of August 12, 1585 to Francis Walsingham, on the other hand, contains a euphoric account of the commodities available in Virginia, including the observation that in all their search the English had not yet found "one stynckinge weede growing in thys lande" (199-200). Similarly, in his letter dated September 3, 1585 to the elder Hakluyt and an unidentified "Master H__ of the Middle Temple," Lane emphasizes Virginia's rich commodities and a climate "so wholesome, that we haue not had one sicke, since we touched land here." He concludes, "if Virginia had but Horses and Kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it" (208ff.). Reminiscing about the 1585 expedition in a letter to Lord Burghley on January 7, 1592, Lane complains of Virginia's "intemperate clymates" and the "heate and sicknes" which he and his men endured in America. He also alludes to the deaths of 36 colonists in the space of three months, although he believes that Virginia on the whole "is a good temperate country [and] that such mortality commeth by the bad fare" (228-29).[55] A contextual analysis of such inconsistencies would doubtless prove fascinating. Lane's letter to Burghley, for instance, outlines the strict

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lone native, the meeting with Granganimeo and his men, the banquet scene, and the entrance of the two or three male natives.

[55] According to the Virginia Company of London's "A true declaration of the estate of the colonie in Virginia, With a confutation of such scandalous reports as haue tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise" (1610), the official death toll of Lane's voyage was set at two (E2v).

disciplinary measures he considered necessary to soldiers' health at sea and on land. His references to the ill health that he and his men suffered in 1585, whether or not as widespread as Lane implies, seeks to authenticate the author as credible witness. This letter also takes mild potshots at Richard Grenville, leader of the 1585 expedition, in order to hint at Lane's superior leadership capabilities. The soldier's representations of Virginia are a distinct function of his motivations, and, to the extent that his perceptions fluctuate with the swing of various rhetorics, Lane's evidence cannot be seen as reliable testimony. Rather, his images of America foreground the use of discourse as a means of effecting public and private recognition and promotion, a neglected aspect of current analyses of early colonial texts.

Barlowe's account is an especially urgent case in point since it has been put in recent years to such widespread, unproblematized usage. His text suggests the writer's eagerness to identify the golden age topoi consistent with the colonialist fantasies and hopes of his employers; as such, Barlowe's relation is implicated in the struggle, evident in the 1582-83 instructions, to transcend Old World suppositions to do with foreign territories and peoples. And like these guidelines, or perhaps, as I have suggested, because of ones like them, Barlowe's narrative fails time and again, despite the writer's efforts to document the new, to cast off the persistent European dream of locating a Paradise in America. When Barlowe wants to speak of potential or actual conflict with the Virginians, he is compelled to utilize a rhetoric of praise consonant with imperialist agenda: "[A]lthough there was no cause of doubt," he writes, shrugging off the near skirmish above with a Columbianesque flourish, "for a more kinde and louing people, there can not be found in the world, as farre as we haue hitherto had triall." Quinn has called Barlowe's observation "[t]he most precise example in Renaissance English of the myth of the gentle savage" (introduction, Roanoke Voyages 1: 110n.1). More to the point, Barlowe's comment is perhaps the most stunning example in Renaissance travel writing of an author's effort to manipulate his audience by obscuring the potentially disenchanting realities of Anglo-American contact.[56] And Barlowe's disavowal, needless to say, indicates that the Amerindians had given the English at least some pause for concern.

Noting the contradictions in Barlowe's text, Greenblatt observes that a "lively interest in swords sits strangely with life in the manner of the Golden Age." However, his view that "[t]here was little reason for Barlowe to construct a coherent, internally consistent account of Virginia" since the report was intended as "a prospectus for potential investors in future voyages" (Marvelous Possessions 94) sidesteps the nagging problems of discourses such as Barlowe's--the various details that travel writers suppress and/or disavow in their relations of English actions and conduct in America. While no tale can be told in its entirety, as reception theorists as early as Wolfgang Iser

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[56] Karen Ordahl Kupperman in Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony makes the excellent point that such images contributed to deeply unrealistic and ultimately damaging expectations about America (16-17).

have observed (285; Rimmon-Kenan 127), such gaps and elisions strike me as fascinating sites for the exploration of the competing voices brought into play as the travel writer constructed his version of what he had witnessed in America. While ready-made descriptions of inhabitants as living after the manner of the golden age certainly appear with frequency in the early modern travel accounts, "touched off," as Levin has suggested, "as if by a reflex action" (60), this reflex action itself might well be indicative of the often conflicting agendas underlying the writer's efforts to articulate the strange and foreign.

Complicating these inconsistencies still further is the difficulty that in Barlowe's text--like other Roanoke narratives with the exception of Harriot's report which exist today in no other form outside Hakluyt's collections--we have no assurance that we are dealing with an authentic, unmediated text by one particular traveller/author. Given the probable roles of Ralegh, Harriot, and the younger Hakluyt in the production of this account, we can reasonably assume that anything unpleasant Barlowe had written on Virginia was suppressed or at least substantially revised. Spanish sources record an initial English arrival at a headland prior to the one at Hatarask noted in Barlowe's account where Indians reportedly attacked and ate 38 English.[57] If hostile or unfriendly encounters were in fact suppressed, then what I see as contradictions like an overt militaristic idiom and hints of potential or actual conflict with Amerindians may well be traces of the tensions and anxieties that Barlowe had originally written into his account.

There seems good reason to view images of natives as living after the manner of the golden age as editorial interpolations written and published to convince anxious investors and colonialists of the beneficence of America and its peoples. By the time Hakluyt first published the Roanoke narratives in 1589 any hardships experienced during the 1584 reconnaissance were well known throughout London. Equally well-known were the complaints of Ralph Lane's soldiers who spoke of Virginia's savage Indians and barren landscape, factors which contributed to their near-starvation during the 1585-86 expedition. (It is telling that, of the 108 men who spent the year in America, only three signed up to return with John White in 1587, and one of these deserted to Spanish Florida.) In his 1588 report, Thomas Harriot alludes to the scathing attacks against Virginia made by Lane's men:

> There haue bin diuers and variable reportes, with some slaunderous and shamefull speeches bruited abroade by many that returned from thence. Especially of that discouery which was made by the Colony transported by Sir Richard Greinuile in the yeare 1585, being of all the others the most principal, and as yet of most effect. . . .Which reports have not done

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[57] Deposition from the Licentiate Francisco Marqués de Villalobos (Abbot of Jamaica) to the Spanish Crown, June 27, 1586 in I.A. Wright, ed., 175. See also Quinn's introduction to Barlowe's narrative in Roanoke Voyages 1: 81, 94n.4, and 414-15n.5.

> a litle wrong to many that otherwise would haue also fauoured & aduentured in the action. (320-21)

"Let them go where they deserve, foolish drones," Hakluyt the younger ranted around the same time--"mindful only of their bellies and gullets, who fresh from that place like those whom Moses sent to spy out the promised land flowing with milk and honey, have treacherously published ill reports about it" ("Epistle Dedicatory to Ralegh" in *De orbe novo* 514-15).

Quinn notes that, so far as is known, these unfavourable reports were not published in print (Roanoke Voyages 2: 515n.1), and Fuller suggests that such criticisms exist mainly as moments embedded within the authorized texts (90). Further, as I will elaborate in the next chapter, official responses such as Harriot's to unauthorized and potentially damaging reports help to corroborate if not authenticate those voices of protest and dissension which circulated throughout late sixteenth-century London. The construction of Virginia as Paradise seems to have arisen partly in response to such voices, although even a diehard propagandist like Hakluyt had to take into account, when he revised the Principall navigations a decade later, the increasing public outcry against England's colonial failures in Virginia, the severest of which was John White's missing colony of 110 settlers.[58] In 1600 it seems that the editor attempted to shift, if only slightly, the mindset of his readers away from the false hopes and delusions he had helped to create. As we have seen, between the two editions of his 1589 and 1600 compilations, Hakluyt omitted the sentence, "The earth bringeth foorth all things in aboundance, as in the first creation, without toile or labour," from the description of Virginia and its peoples. Consistent with this deletion, the editor also altered the next line, "The people onely care to defend them selues from the cold, in their short winter, and to feede themselues with such meate as the soile affoordeth," by inserting the word *how*, as in, "The people onely care *howe* to. . . ." (my emphasis, 108-09). Not so much counteracting as balancing out or qualifying the image of an American Paradise where inactivity and passivity are rewarded is a unique if ephemeral ideal which insists on the need for activity and work. When situated within a climate of colonial uncertainty and ambivalence the editor's revisions suggest that Hakluyt, though an indefatigable promotionalist throughout most of his career, was also, in his more prudent moments, unrecognizably conscious of his own potentially undermining rhetoric.

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[58] Traces of the 1587 colony were last found by John White in 1590, although Ralegh continued to presume its survival, and hence his entitlement to North American lands, until the loss of his patent in 1603 under James. See Quinn, ed., New American World 5: 159.

Chapter Three

Trifling in Jamestown, c. 1607-1622

Meeting balances wandering. A crossroad of two othernesses, it welcomes the foreigner without tying him down, opening the host to his visitor without committing him. A mutual recognition, the meeting owes its success to its temporary nature, and it would be torn by conflicts if it were to be extended. (Kristeva, Strangers To Ourselves 11)

The preceding two chapters have discussed several moments of Anglo-American contact, and many of the texts associated with these moments. The accounts of Frobisher's voyages to Meta Incognita and the narratives associated with Ralegh's attempted Roanoke settlements each suggest in distinct but similar ways the predicament of travel writers when confronted by experiences that did not easily conform to their inherited expectations and assumptions to do with travel to America and contact with its inhabitants. These chapters examined several of the discursive practices and strategies of writers which were the product of a contradiction between travellers' expectations and experiences in order to suggest that early modern representations of Amerindians show moments of ambivalence, textual traces, that is, which cast doubt on the presumption that the English took their mastery over others for granted. This chapter addresses one final continuity in the materials associated with the early Jamestown settlement. Nowhere in early colonial history is the discrepancy between theory and practice more apparent than it is in relation to the Jamestown reports. I identify one major source of this discrepancy in the European trope of trifles, a trope introduced in the previous chapter to highlight the way it helped shape descriptions of America within a golden age framework.

Although the trifling trope, the promise of things of great value in exchange for worthless goods, appears in nearly every European account of the New World where trade with natives is recorded, scholarly attention to the subject has been relatively slight. Jeffrey Knapp, the most extensive on the subject with eight continuous pages in addition to assorted references throughout his nearly 400-page work (An Empire Nowhere 117-125, *passim*), is the first to offer a sophisticated reading which sees more than English greed in play whenever the trope is evoked. He addresses how trifles function, in Renaissance literature and, to a lesser degree, in travel accounts, to speak to England's insecurities and fears about its island insularity, its extravagant trading habits, and its resulting vulnerability to exploitation by foreign nations (see esp. 120, 145). Greenblatt, who read Knapp's work in manuscript, agrees that trifles say something about a contemporary anxiety, but he attributes this anxiety to a vacillation on the subject of taking advantage of Americans: accounts of unequal exchanges imply, he writes, "a sense of bad faith, a sense--reflected in the very term 'trifle'--that they [Europeans] are taking advantage of native innocence. Of course, this bad faith is part of the pleasure of the profitable transaction, but it is a distinctly uneasy pleasure" (Marvelous Possessions 110, 183-84n.49). Like Knapp's and Greenblatt's, my reading explores textual moments which register a dis-ease in trade relations with others,

although I locate a major source of this anxiety in a contemporary ambivalence to do with colonial greed. The sections which follow map out late-Tudor and early-Jacobean understandings of trifles and greed. My analysis moves from a consideration of the trifling trope's widespread usage to an exploration of how trifles and greed are anxiously positioned in the Virginia Company's promotional materials, and of how these writings open up for view an oppositional voice which critiqued England's colonial greed. The final section looks at the implications of this oppositional voice for a reading of the texts of Jamestown secretary William Strachey.

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Observers from Las Casas to Greenblatt and Pagden have noted that the European view of Amerindians' lack of language was one of the main reasons why they were often considered barbaric, and so have stressed the role of *language* in the European construction of savagery and civility.[1] Much less recognized is the strong emphasis placed during the Renaissance on the *courteousness* of indigenes, particularly on native receptivity to trifles and trade as a sign of their courteousness and potential for civility. Depictions of Amerindians' willingness to exchange goods with the English function in large measure to indicate their agreeable dispositions (and, ultimately, to suggest a land's suitability for English penetration.) In his translation of Thevet's work, Thomas Hacket in The new found worlde suggests that one of the biggest advantages of journeying to North America is the kindness of its peoples:

> [T]hey are very charitable . . . as much as their lawe of Nature dothe permit. . . [A]s soone as they shal see [strangers] enter into theyr countrey, they will present vnto them victualls, lodgyng, and a mayde for his seruice. . . .Also agaynste thys pylgryme or straunger, the women and maydens wyll come, and then they wyll syte downe and crie and weepe for ioye, the which if thou wylt endure, casting out teares, they wyl say in their language: Thou art welcome, thou arte of our best friendes, thou hast taken great paines to come and visite vs, and many other greetings.

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[1] Las Casas writes that "[a] man is apt to be called barbarous, in comparison with another, because he is strange in his manner of speech and mispronounces the language of the other" (qtd. in Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse" [in Learning to Curse] 19). Pagden gives a useful background of classical notions of barbarians (from *barbaroi*--"a general term which described all those who did not speak Greek") in Lords of All the World 21, *passim*; cf. Pagden, The Fall of Natural Man 15-16. By the late-fifth century, the term *barbarian* is applied, as Kristeva notes, to both Greeks and non-Greeks who possess a coarse, awkward, or otherwise improper speech (Strangers To Ourselves 51). See also Dickason 67; Hart, "The Black Legend" 375; Grafton 44, *passim*; Eco, Serendipities 26, 53.

> Also the father and chiefe of the familie shalbe in their beds weeping euen as the women: If they iorney thirtie or fortie leagues be it by water or land, (they liue common together) if one haue, and others want, he shall distribute to the needeful, the like do they to strangers. (69-69b)

The positive reaction of Amerindians to trifles which Hacket observes (see esp. 77), their openness to trade, is intimately connected with the ostensible charitability or courteousness of the American hosts (cf. 69b-70).

Like indications of natives' potential to learn the language of the colonizer, a disposition amenable to trade serves as a marker of their potential to become civilized. This marker tones down the savagery of the savage, neutralizes him, makes him appear less threatening, inviting. James Rosier's "A trve relation" (1605) of George Waymouth's voyage to New England suggests that the inhabitants' receptivity to trifles is evidence of a more mannerly, refined disposition: "They seemed all very ciuill and merrie: shewing tokens of much thankefulnesse, for those things we gaue them. We found them then (as after) a people of exceeding good inuention, quicke vnderstanding and readie capacitie" (B3). Likewise, John Brereton, in his report of the voyage of Bartholomew Gosnold and Bartholomew Gilbert to New England in 1602, "A Brief and true Relation of the Discovuerie of the North part of Virginia," shows no surprise to have encountered Indians who behaved equally "civil" in matters of communication *and* commerce. Brereton highlights, through the following anecdote of a meeting with one of the locals, the language facility of Algonkians: "[O]ne of them one day sitting by mee, vpon occasion I spake smiling to him these words: How now (sirrha) are you so saucie with my Tabacco? which words (without any further repetition) he suddenly spake so plaine and distinctly, as if he had been a long scholar in the language. Many other such trials we had, which are heere needlesse to repeat" (B2r). He also reports the terrific eagerness with which these people traded their own goods, "all which they so little esteeme, as they offered their fairest collars or chaines [of copper], for a knife or such like trifle" (Bv). Observations of Amerindians' aptitude for language and their propensity to trade equally inform Brereton's conclusion that "these people are exceeding courteous, gentle of disposition . . . excelling all others that we haue seene . . . I thinke they excell all the people of America" (Bv). Of course, the opposite of such praise was also true; the refusal or inability of Amerindians to communicate and trade with European travellers prompted much attack, such as Robert Gray's denunciation, in a sermon addressed to the Virginia Company in 1609, of the "barbarous people" whom Columbus had encountered, who "denied strãgers to conuerse, and commerce with them" (C4).

Brereton's rhetoric of praise is consistent with first-encounter narratives which express, as we have seen, a parallel image of American lands and peoples. To those behaviours identified in the last chapter as contributing to Barlowe's approval of the Carolina Algonkians, I might have added the enthusiasm of Granganimeo and his people to trade with their visitors, especially their pleasure at receiving objects, like the bright tin dish, which the English perceive as without value. Barlowe and Brereton

share common interests and concerns, one of which positions trade (and, since advantageous for the English, the trade of trifles) at its centre. The former writer's observation of the natives' *mannerly* and *ciuill* behaviour and the latter's attention to their *courteousness* each participate in a contemporary dialogue that is very much concerned with identifying the disposition of strangers in an alien country and, by extension, the consequences of this disposition to the English--who are themselves marked as strangers by their hosts (witness Frobisher in Greenland)--of travelling to a foreign milieu inhabited by unknown peoples.

There was, after all, no point in journeying to a land where the inhabitants were unwelcoming.[2] David Fausett has recently pointed out that the closed-door policy in the East after the rise of Genghis Khan in 1221 played a determining factor in the enduring popularity of Mandeville's Travels because the work gave readers the opportunity to experience vicariously lands that they were unable to visit (35-37). Thomas East's enormously popular 1568 edition of the first English translation of Mandeville's work (an abridged text known as the Defective Version, rendered before 1400) heightened contemporary readers' fascination with distant places and peoples. The question of which strangers in various parts of the world were indeed receptive to the presence of, and commerce and trade with, the English was very much on the minds of colonial theorists and organizers during the Renaissance. This question took on an even broader scope and relevance from the interest Frobisher's voyages engendered in the Northwest Passage.

Richard Willes's revised edition of Eden's Decades of the Newe Worlde (1555), published in 1577 as The History of Trauayle in the West and East Indies, includes much new material written by Willes, such as advice to Frobisher who was about to embark on his second expedition to Meta Incognita.[3] Unlike most of his

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[2] Not unexpectedly, writers deemed most attractive those American territories believed to have a low indigenous population. In 1630, for example, Francis Higginson in "New-Englands plantation. Or, A short and true description of the commodities and discommodities of that Countrey" writes that the lands around Cape Anne are particularly suitable for colonization because "Their Subiects about twelue yeeres since were swept away by a great and grieuous Plague that was amongst them, so that there are verie few left to inhabite the Countrey" (C3v). One of the reasons William Vaughan in The golden fleece (1626) considers Newfoundland a region more fit for habitation than either New England or Virginia is that there are "no savages to annoy us in the South parts" (Ddd). See also Whitbourne Dv, 47.

[3] The second edition was edited by Willes following Eden's death in 1576. Willes dedicated his report, called "For. M. Cap. Fvrbyshers Passage By the Northwest. Of China, in Cathayo, Sitvated in the East Syde of Great Asy. Of the Iland Giapan, And Other Litle Iles To the East Ocean, By the Way From Cathayo To The Molvccaes," to the Countess of Warwick, Frobisher's patron, who had requested Willes's advice on the geographical difficulties and possibilities of locating the Northwest Passage. The report

contemporaries' predictions of Frobisher's great chances of finding a route to the Moluccas, Willes is starkly but realistically pessimistic of the explorer's odds of journeying to the Far East and returning with some part of its plenty. Why, he demands, should a northwestern route be any safer or easier than the northeastern one lately attempted by Sir Hugh Willoughby, who froze to death in his efforts to find a passage? Are these two routes not, after all, equally distant from the North Pole, and subject, as a consequence, to the same climactic conditions? (231v[?]). He therefore concludes that the passage is "dangerous . . . doubtfull . . . not throughly knowen, and . . . gaynesayde" (231v[?]). An even more convincing discouragement to travel, Willes argues, is the fact that, even if a route to the Far East does exist, what use would it prove in light of the "law denying all Aliens to enter into China" and the restrictions "forbiddyng all the inhabiters vnder a great penaltie to let in any stranger into that countreys" (233v[?])?[4] Although he does find in the relations of Perera a reference to a "*Cathaian* kyng [who] is woont to graunt free accesse vnto all forreiners that trade into his countrey for marchandyse, and a place of lybertie for them to remaine in," as well as isolated examples of the Japanese desire "to be acquaynted with strangers" (237[?]), Willes on the whole is quite cautious about recommending an English journey to the East, especially given "the strength and valeour of so great a nation, farre distaunt from vs" (237[?]).

Like Willes, many late-Stuart and early-Jacobean writers distanced their works, consciously or unconsciously, from the long-standing interest in monstrous and marvelous races which had defined the literary and ethnographic traditions of Herodotus, Pliny, and Mandeville. The result was a somewhat more "realistic" body of geographic and ethnographic material for the benefit of armchair and actual travellers. Anthony Grafton describes several challenges such writers faced, one of which was the difficulty of selecting a limited number of topics to discuss since no description of any given land or people could ever be complete (42). The types of data Sir Thomas Palmer encourages adventurers to compile, in his handbook for travellers titled "An essay of the Meanes how to make our Trauailes, into forraine Countries, the more profitable and honourable" (1606), stress primarily the disposition of strangers and their openness to trade. He advises travellers to record in great detail the receptiveness of foreigners, and to indicate those peoples most favorable to the English, as a direction and a guide to future adventurers (see esp. K3v/72, L2/75, L3/77). Similarly, George

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is reprinted in Stefansson and McCaskill, eds., 1: 131-45. All references to Willes's text are in Eden, History 230-36.

[4] Willes's information derives from the account of a Portuguese traveller, an unidentified "Galeotto Perera," and the "Giaponyshe letters" of Xavier, the first Jesuit missionary/merchant to Japan, who arrived at Kagoshima in 1549 with two Portuguese priests. Jesuit letters from Bungo were sent to Rome in a series of reports known as the Annual Letters. See Stefansson and McCaskill, eds., 1: 138n.1.

Abbot, in his geographical treatise A Briefe Description of the Whole Worlde (1600), sought not merely to describe those regions of America that would yield commodities "delightful both to the eye and taste" but, even more importantly to travellers, to parcel out those lands wherein "the people are apt enough by hospitalitie, to yeeld fauour & entertainment to strangers" (s3).

When it came to describing the receptivity of Americans toward foreigners, English writers constructed a rhetoric of praise which was reinforced by the fact of England's belatedness to the New World; they transformed the sluggishness that could have been construed as a sign of weakness or failure into a distinct advantage by imagining England's America (its lands and peoples) as superior to those Americas already expropriated by England's rival powers. In his 1583 report on Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland, Edward Hayes first surveys Spanish and French attempts to colonize lands to the north of Florida, then proclaims that God had reserved the continent's northern regions, and its infidels, for the use and superior Christian influence of the English (679ff.). George Peckham writes that the very topography of the land as it appears in the maps of Mercator and others stands as an apt metaphor for the inhabitants' especial supplication to the English: "[The] Countrey doeth (as it were with arme advanced) above the climates both of Spaine and Fraunce, stretch out it self towards England only: In maner praying our ayde & helpe" (447-48). On the double consideration that Norumbega is "very fruitfull" and that it is inhabited by people of "a middle & tractable disposition," Christopher Carleill declares that the region is, of all other territories in America, "the onely most fittest and most commodious for us to entermeddle withall" (33).[5] In Hakluyt the younger's epistle dedicatory to Ralegh in his translation of René de Laudonnière's *Histoire notable de la Floride*, the editor singles out Virginians as having "better wittes then those of Mexico and Peru . . . whereby it may bee gathered that they will easily embrace the Gospell" (90).

An implicit or explicit anxiety surrounding competition with other European nations informs each of these texts; the unequivocal result is the image of an America which is more abundant, better inhabited, and more amenable to an English intrusion than those lands occupied by other Europeans. If Columbus thought he had discovered a Paradise in the Azores and in Hispaniola, English writers sought to emphasize the idea that their own explorers had found, or would soon find, an even sweeter Paradise. The depiction of Amerindians' favorable reactions to trifles played a crucial role in the development of such a rhetoric.[6]

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[5] Carleill's unique use of the rather unusual verb *entermeddle* is interesting here as it conveys an admission of the intrusive quality of England's intended journey to New England. The OED, 2nd. ed., defines the word, a form of *intermeddle*, as an effort "to concern or occupy oneself with or in; to meddle, interfere; especially to concern oneself with what is none of one's business, to meddle or interfere impertinently."

[6] Among the many effects of England's belatedness was a massive psychological investment in the importance of trifles to the nation's own colonization. The

In addition to an investment in identifying those foreigners receptive to both travellers and their goods, texts of the period exhibit a desire to inculcate among strangers a sense of England's own amenability towards commerce. Policies of familiarity arose partly, for example, out of an attempt to convince Amerindians, as well as potential investors and other participants, of the benevolence of England's intrusions into far-away lands. Commerce went hand in hand with efforts to civilize natives, at least in theory, for the rhetoric of the peaceful Christian education of natives through a familiar exchange of goods was a central way in which the English sought to differentiate their mode of colonization from that of the Spanish. Familiarity also involved attempts to acquaint strangers with English modes of behaviour, although such attempts often reflect an underestimation of foreign peoples as well as they mask an insecurity about the potential of trifles to effect England's success in foreign lands. In his 1580 Northeast Passage instructions to Pet and Jackman, for example, the elder Hakluyt advises the explorers to carry on their journey "the mappe of England set out in fayre coleurs, one of the biggest sort I meane, to make shew of your countrey from whence you come. And also the large mappe of London, to make shew of your citie. And let the river be drawne full of shippes of all sorts, to make the more shew of your great trade and traffike in trade of merchandize" (155).

Hakluyt advocates the use of maps as a means of disseminating information to the Muscovites about the lands from where the English had sailed, particularly those details which foreground London's role as a commercial centre in a large and heterogeneous merchant community. The theorist is clearly not interested in verisimilitude: Hakluyt favours grandness of maps and brightness of colours in order to impress locals with a display of the city's abundant commercial activity and opportunity; he advises the explorers to ensure that the Thames is rendered "full of shippes of all sorts," in order to depict it, not on a day of average navigational traffic

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translations of Spanish, French, and Portuguese achievements by writers and compilers like Richard Eden, Hakluyt the younger, Thomas Hacket, and John Florio not merely reflected but helped produce much anxiety to do with the accomplishments of other continental powers. At the same time that English writers reviled the cruelty of Spaniards in America, they also celebrated those conquests which were the most blatant end products of Spanish barbarity. Few texts are as replete with examples of cruelty, and yet with tacit assurances of the value of trifles in England's own dealings with Americans, as Thomas Nicholas's translation, The Pleasant Historie of the Conqest of the West India, Now Called New Spaine (1596), of Francisco López de Gómara's account of the events leading to Cortés's 1521 overthrow of the Aztec Empire. In this work which the translator judges a "most delectable and worthie Historie," a "Mirrour and an excellent president, for all such as shall take in hand to gouerne new Discoueries," Nicholas incites travellers to emulate the Spanish by purchasing goods from Americans "for things of a vile price" ("Epistle Dedicatorie to Sir Francis Walsingham" n. pag., 15; cf. 45, 48, 51, 104, 214, 233, 294, and 401).

but, presumably, on the busiest day that the river has seen, or perhaps an even busier one. The river, moreover, is not to be drawn simply "full of shippes" but, importantly, "full of shippes *of all sorts*" (my emphasis). The prepositional phrase suggests that the intention behind Hakluyt's recommended multifarious depictions is to create in the minds of foreigners not merely an impression of London's flourishing sea enterprise but a sense of participation, membership, and inclusivity among those nations and peoples with whom England trades.

The theoretical writings of the elder Hakluyt, and those of his cousin, repeatedly bear out a shared tendency to take for granted and to privilege the lure value of English trifles and trade in dealings with others. Not unexpectedly, their texts resemble one another in rhetorical strategy. Four years after the elder Hakluyt wrote to Pet and Jackman, his cousin used the venting topos to promote, in what was for him an unprecedented instance, one trifle in particular, "The knitt wollen cappe of Toledo in Spaine":

> called *bonetto rugio collerado* [red-coloured cap, which] so infinitely solde to the Moores in Barbarie and Affricke, is to be prepared in London, Hereforde, and Rosse, and to be vented to the people [in America], and may become a notable trade of gaine to the marchaunte, and a great reliefe to oure poore people, and a sale of our woll & of our labour, and beinge suche a cappe that every particuler person will buye and may easilie compasse, the sale wilbe greate in shorte time, especially if our people weare them at their first arryvall there. ("Discourse of Western Planting" 122)[7]

The younger Hakluyt's advice to do with the *bonetto rugio collerado* and the elder Hakluyt's interest in English maps are posited on the material fallacy of *argumentum ad populum*, an appeal to the crowd. Each attempt to "sell" England, its trifles and wares, to strangers, relies for the promise of its success on the visual and emotional appeal of vibrant colours (of caps and maps) and fullness of numbers (of hats on English heads and ships in the river of a bustling commercial and cosmopolitan centre). Each theorist is certain that inhabitants will identify their own lack, a lack of red caps on the heads of Americans when compared to the English, and a lack of merchandise sailing to or from Muscovy via the river which is lively with the sea traffic (and commodities) of other peoples. Their efforts to develop trade are essentially based on the sale of inclusivity

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[7] While the venting topos was certainly influential around 1584 (see chapter one, note 7), Carole Shammas observes (160-70) that it assumed an even more powerful shape after the succession of James in 1603 and the signing of the peace treaty with Spain in 1604, when London's merchant community grew increasingly confident, aggressive, and speculative in its plans to employ long-distance trade as a means of trying to solve early-Stuart England's unemployment problems and national impotency.

and membership, which will be sold, they each project, by the illusory powers of figures of thought (i.e. easily identifiable images like "suche a cappe that every particuler person will buye and may easilie compasse"[8] and a river "drawn full of shippes of all sorts, to make the more shew of your great trade and traffike").

These examples help us to flesh out how the two writers understood and theorized trade and trifles. Both writers demonstrate and encourage a smoke-and-mirrors approach to dealing with strangers; underlying each of their writings is a fundamental doubt that English wares would be less attractive to others if left untouched by the persuasive influences of rhetoric and art. The trifling trope expresses a similar doubt: the persistent devaluation of trifles as discussed earlier, juxtaposed with sugared assurances that trifles will help to convert America's infidels, to cure England's economic woes, and to affect radically the lives and fortunes of citizens from all walks of English society, masks a tangible dis-ease about so much riding on so very little. While there is evidence that trifles were valued by aboriginal groups, though obviously not for the reasons, as we shall see toward the end of this chapter, that the English took for granted, the trifling trope clearly spoke to the fantasies and, ultimately, to the doubts of English audiences. In emphasizing the wondrously cheap cost of economic prosperity and the salvation of countless souls, writers perpetuated a myth that was unchanged in form and content from the time when Columbus had first applied it to the inhabitants of Hispaniola; doubtless the trope appeared dull and worn to numerous informed readers of the English Renaissance, although travel writers' production of the fantasy remained constant and relentless. Trifles had an arguably greater impact and lure value among the English than among Amerindians: the trope speaks much about the construction of a cultural fantasy which was appropriated and disseminated largely to compensate for an uncertainty about, and a lack of hard evidence of, imminent wealth and prosperity resulting from England's American enterprises. Ubiquitous examples of exceptional deals and possibilities in America exist throughout texts of the period because the trope of trifles formed the largest part of the substance which, however thin and weak, held together the precarious engine that was England's early imperialism.

2

The inception of the Virginia Company in 1606, in part because of its unprecedented organization as a public joint-stock company, marks the beginning of a

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[8] In addition to definitions of the verb *compasse* which seem appropriate here, such as "to catch, seize, lay hold of" and "to attain, win," the word has a possibly relevant connotation first cited for the year 1576: "to grasp with the mind" (OED, 2nd. ed.) Hakluyt the younger, who is obviously quite interested in the suggestive potential of the red caps, especially if worn by "our people . . . at their first arryvall there," perhaps had this more cognitive, perceptual sense of the verb in mind as well.

prolific and sustained promotional campaign in the form of sermons and official pamphlets.[9] No text associated with the Jamestown voyages seeks to identify the amenable disposition of natives more than Robert Johnson's "Nova Britannia" (1609), a tract ostensibly based on the experiences of the first colony under the Virginia Company's initial charter of 1606. Dedicated to the Company's treasurer, economist Sir Thomas Smith, Johnson's text yokes the image of natives as wandering, rootless people to the idyllic representation of Indians as naked, kind, and gentle. The propagandist's description of Virginia, which is "commendable and hopefull every way, the ayre and clymate most sweete and wholsome, much warmer then England, and very agreeable to our Natures," parallels his account of inhabitants who are

> wild and savage people, that live and lie up and downe in troupes like heards of Deare in a Forrest: they have no law but nature, their apparell skinnes of beasts, but most goe naked . . . they are generally very loving and gentle, and doe entertaine and relieve our people with great kindness: they are easy to be brought to good, and would fayne embrace a better condition. (238-39)

With such a people, writes Johnson, policies of familiarity and trifling--"a mutuall enterchange and commerce"--will prove the key to a successful outcome (240).

Johnson's relation of Virginia and its inhabitants appears to contradict the experiences of Jamestown colonists under the Company's first charter, who were plagued, the historical record indicates, by a great many hardships: the formidable task of settling Jamestown, which many were either unable or unwilling to perform; the lack of clear colonial mandates and objectives; the oppressive summer of 1607 and the harsh winter of 1607-08; the arrival of new colonists in 1608 which added to the settlement's housing and food shortages; and the "curse" of a "plethora of leaders," as Wesley Frank Craven has pointed out (71), none of whom seemed capable of sustained leadership. Johnson, in his emphasis on a "mutuall enterchange and commerce," and on the many returns to the English once the Indians are shaped into conformity, does not seem to have been interested in reflecting American realities or possibilities as they appeared to settlers like George Percy or Gabriel Archer, whose 1607 accounts of Jamestown, though Barbour considers them official reports (Jamestown Voyages 1: 68), each present images of Virginians which are antithetical to Johnson's Edenic savages.

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[9] Prior to the Virginia Company, overseas ventures, such as those initiated by the Muscovy and Cathay Companies, Ralegh, and Gilbert, tended to be privately funded. One of the intentions of the corporative form of the Virginia Company was to avoid the problem of under financing that had burdened the privately funded enterprises. On the organization of the Virginia Company, see "The Preliminaries" in Barbour, ed., 1: 13-23.

One could argue that Johnson's "Nova Britannia" is, like many texts written by other stay-at-home writers of the Renaissance, mostly a cut-and-paste version of, and obeisance to, past travel authorities (who also stayed at home) such as George Peckham and the two Richard Hakluyts. Of course, leaving home was not considered a prerequisite, not by those who stayed at home at least, to writing of far-away lands in a manner that would ring both credible and authentic. John Healey's translation in 1609[?] of Joseph Hall's *Mundus alter* (1605[?]) in fact parodied what had become by the early-seventeenth century the familiar practice of culling material from other writers' works as a substitute for actual travel. In the translator's "pre-instructions," the contemporary audience would have readily identified, as a Hakluytean pilferer of other men's experiences and works, the narrator, who asserts that his "acquaintance with trauellers of all sorts [is] well knowne to our Vniuersitie men." Despite this narrator's claim to possess an "vnquenched thirst and desire of knowledge," it is not a first-hand knowledge he seeks, but, rather, the kind of knowledge that can be more conveniently acquired through the reading of books (¶7). On the subject of describing geographical regions, foreign or domestic, the narrator likewise states:

> Foreine parts are so like ours, that you cannot thinke them strange to see, though you neuer saw them before. . . .[Y]our England is described by Cambden: what vnderstanding man is there, that cannot, out of him, make as perfect a description of any cittie, riuer, monument, or wonder in all your Ile, as well as if hee had viewed it in person himselfe? (Av)

Practical-minded colonialists such as John Smith and his associates would object to propagandist accounts of Virginia for the reason that they seemed to have little basis in actual experience and fact, although it is possible that works like "Nova Britannia" allow more access to the realities in Jamestown, or at least to a few of the realities with which writers were faced, than such criticisms suggest.

3

In the London Council's "Instructions given by way of Advice" (1606), compiled with the help of the two Hakluyts, the Council gave this one final recommendation: "Lastly & Chiefly the way to prosper [in Virginia] is to make yourselves all of one mind for the Good of your Country" (53). An important aspect of promoting Virginia to investors and would-be participants was the expression, as in Johnson's tract, of a unifiedly favorable outlook on American potential. As one privy to details concerning the nascent colony, Johnson would have had access, although precisely how much access is not known, to the flow of written information coming home from Jamestown. In "The new life of Virginea: declaring the former successe and present estate of that plantation, being the second part of *Noua Britannia*" (1612), Johnson alludes, as a means of establishing the credibility of his former and present accounts of Jamestown, to the letters "our own people wrote . . . home in praise of the

countrie" (B3v). His reference to these documents calls our attention to the issue of censorship which was, as we might expect, strictly enforced in relation to such precarious initiatives as the Jamestown settlement. The London Council's 1606 instructions specify, for example, that the Council at Jamestown was not to allow anyone "to return [to England] but by pasport from the president . . . nor to write any Letter of any thing that may Discourage others" (53-54). Such restrictions were tightened as time went on to curb the flow of criticisms that still made their way into London. Article 13 of the instructions of 1610 to Thomas West, Lord De La Warr, ordered him to take special care

> what relations come into England and what lettres are written & that all things of that nature may be boxed up and sealed and sent first to council here, according to a former instrucion to the late governor [Sir Thomas Gates]; and that at the arrival and return of every shipping you endeavor to knowe all the particuler passages and informations given on both sides and to advertise us accordingly. (219)

Even severer discouragements against dissension were set out in the Lawes Diuine, Morall and *Martiall* (1612), the lengthy pamphlet which William Strachey, Jamestown's secretary from 1610 to 1611, edited after his return to England in September 1611. Based on the ordinances already in effect at Jamestown, regulations which the colony's succeeding governors Thomas Gates, De La Warr, and Thomas Dale had promulgated to offset what their experiences had taught them were the many shortcomings of the Virginia Council's instructions,[10] the Lawes banned all negative criticisms surrounding the colony. Article 12 made this clear in no uncertain terms:

> [N]o on shall utter things against Council in England, or against commitees, assistants, or zealous indeauors, & intentions of the whole body of Aduenturers for this pious and Christian Plantation, or against any publique booke, or bookes . . . for the aduancement of the good of this Colony . . . vpon paine for the first time so offending, to bee whipt three seuerall times, and vpon his knees to acknowledge his offence, and to aske forgiueness vpon the Saboth day in the assembly of the congregation, and for the second time so offending to be condemned to the Gally for three yeares, and for the third time so offending to be punished with death. (B3v)

The above private and public instructions help to contextualize the strictly monitored environment within which Johnson wrote his two promotional works. His reference in

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[10] See Wright and Freund's introduction to their edition of Strachey's The Historie of Travell Into Virginia Britania xv-xxv.

1612 to letters written home "in praise of the countrie," and the implication that his own discourses were a reflection and extension of these materials, that he and others were "of one mind" in their approval of Virginia, must have struck many informed readers as patently inaccurate and misleading.

An examination of Johnson's sources in the experiences and observations recorded by settlers problematizes any over-simplified reading which finds only hypocrisy and mendacity in his promotional writings, however. The settler accounts from which he drew, notably, George Percy's "Discovrse of the Plantation of the Southern Colonie in Virginia" and Gabriel Archer's "Relatyon . . . written . . . by a gent. of y^{e} Colony," are resoundingly equivocal in their impressions of Virginia and its inhabitants. On the one hand, the rhetoric of blame is forcefully present in each of these texts; Percy, who documents the famines and harsh climate endured by the colonists, represents savages in such a way as to augment the adversities which they suffered:

> Our men were destroyed with cruell diseases as Swellings, Flixes, Burning Feuers, and by warres. . . .There were neuer Englishmen left in a forreigne Countrey in such miserie as wee were in this new discouered Virginia. . . .If it had not pleased God to haue put a terrour in the Sauages hearts, we had all perished by those vild and cruell Pagans, being in that weake estate as we were; our men night and day groaning in euery corner of the Fort most pittifull to heare, if there were any conscience in men, it would make their harts to bleed to heare the pittiful murmurings & out-cries of our sick men without reliefe euery night and day for the space of sixe weekes, some departing out of the World, many times three or foure in a night, in the morning their bodies trailed out of their Cabines like Dogges to be buried: in this sort did I see the mortalitie of diuers of our people. (144-45)

Though not as grimly evocative in its depiction of Virginia and its inhabitants, Archer's discourse, which is based on the same experiences of the 1606-07 colony under Newport, provides similar details that would be repetitive to detail here (see esp. 91, 96-97, 102-03).

Despite the numerous hardships that each recorded, Percy and Archer found, on the other hand, sufficiently commendable details that they express through a rhetoric of praise which evokes Barlowe's 1584 account. Percy catalogues the abundant fish, wildfowl, timber, and plants that he and his men discovered (*passim*). Archer more euphorically describes the land and its potential, as several of his marginal notes indicate: "multitudes of fish," "full of wood," "A frutefull soyle," "infinit increase," "The liklyhood of profitt by Industry," etc. (98-102). One also finds throughout their discourses many examples of native hospitality, courteousness, and fondness for English trifles. Amerindians in Percy's text are willing to hand over their lands to the English for the reason that the visitors require, as one weroance reportedly told his

people, "but a little waste ground, which doth you [other natives] nor any of vs any good" (141). Archer speaks joyously of a paradisiacal realm--"a place I Call kynd womans care"--where, when the English guests arrived, unexpected and at night, "yet was there ready for vs of bread new made, sodden wheate and beanes, mullberyes, and some fishe vndressed more then all we could eate." Equally delightful was the fact that the inhabitants of this region, unlike natives elsewhere who expected some reward for their kindness, "seemed not to craue any thing in requitall" (91). A promotionalist like Johnson would also have found encouraging the prospect of trade with an innocent people who have, according to the uninformed Archer, "no commerce with any nation, no respect of p*ro*fitt, neither is there scarce that we call meum et tuum among them" (101). "Negative" descriptions such as the latter contributed to a rhetoric of praise which, since Columbus's day, appealed directly to the European fantasy of all that could be had from others for only the low cost of trifles.

One of the difficulties in writing about accounts such as Percy's and Archer's is the impossibility of arriving at a clear and unconflicted picture of how colonists' perceived the local indigenous population as well as the commercial opportunities awaiting the English. Oppressed by famines, wars, and countless other hardships, including the many deaths of colonists, both writers are nevertheless compelled to express optimism for Virginia. Ambiguous and equivocal are terms which usefully describe their overall impressions. Take, for example, Archer's closing remark on the subject of Virginia's potential: "To conclude I know not what can be expected from [for?] a com*m*on wealth that either this land affordes not or may soone yeeld" (102). Hardly a ringing endorsement for the region, Archer's conclusion is one of many fascinating sites of ambivalence where certainty and conviction, doubt and possibility, blame and praise all swim together to create a complex image of Virginia that is tentative, indeterminate, obscure, and unresolved.

While I am not interested in trying to figure out whether Renaissance travel writers' representations of Amerindians were generally positive or negative, as if these representations were and are fixed, tangible, and measurable objects of study and not, instead, a reflection of their authors' (and my own) ideological positions and moments,[11] it is worth pausing here to consider several possible explanations for the conflicted and shifting impressions of natives in accounts such as Percy's and Archer's. Importantly, the two colonists' works document the peoples, events, and territories that each writer observed while participating in the May 21-27, 1607 survey under

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[11] I am reminded of Alfred A. Cave's critique of those scholars who attempt to parcel out "Richard Hakluyt's" views of Amerindians in the Principal Navigations. Dwight Hoover, for one, finds that Hakluyt's positive images of natives "outweigh . . . the bad," and that, for the most part, he found them "gentle and loving . . . faithful and without guile." Richard Slotkin determines, on the contrary, that the depiction of natives "in the pages of Hakluyt" was "monstrous" (qtd. in Cave 15-16, 32). In such debates much will depend, as Cave has pointed out, on the texts selected for analysis.

Christopher Newport up the James River, of parts of the territory known to natives as Tsenacomacoh, which was occupied by an ethnic group (Virginia Algonkian) that modern scholars conveniently term Powhatan, after the group's paramount chief (Rountree, Pocahontas's People 13).[12] During the initial leg of their exploration, the English were hospitably welcomed by two tribes, the Weyanocks and the Arrohatecks, and they received a similar reception farther upriver by the natives of Powhatan town where the local weroance, who was also the brother of Powhatan, Parahunt, proposed a formal alliance which Newport sealed with gifts. Soon after departing the English set up a cross, took possession of the region in the name of the king, and then lied to their Arrohateck guide about their intentions. Downriver they got a cold reception from Opossunoquonuske, the "fatt, lustie, manly" weroansqua of the Appamattuck satellite town, who would not allow the visitors to stand or even sit beside her. Farther downriver, the weroance of Pamunkey, made anxious because the English would not allow their captain to walk alone with him, had the explorers escorted to the river and sent on their way. Finally, at Weyanock on May 27, the Arrohateck guide suddenly left the adventurers, and, because of tensions with the locals, the English decided to return to the fort at Jamestown Island. When they arrived later that day, they learned that a large party of Indians, composed of several of the same tribes they had just visited, had attacked the fort the day before (see Archer 82-95, 97-98; Percy 140-41).

This brief narrative of the James River exploration, culled from a longer discussion in Helen C. Rountree's excellent study of Pocohontas's People (31-35), is sufficient to highlight one possible explanation for the shifting perceptions and images of Amerindians in texts such as Percy's and Archer's: when the travellers first arrived in the area they named Jamestown, ignorant of the disparate social, political, and cultural contexts informing the many distinct polities that made up the Powhatan group, they took steps, as they had been instructed, to learn the interrelations of these various peoples in order to help determine how the English could negotiate themselves into the existing power structures. Among their other purposes, the discourses of Percy and Archer served to provide a rough sketch of these diverse peoples, which, it was hoped,

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[12] Archer lists the names of twenty-one other men, including Captain John Smith, who were also on the expedition (81). According to the London Council's instructions of 1606, once the English had finished building their fort in a suitable place, several colonists were to explore the lands to the west for minerals and a passage to the Pacific (51). Barbour notes that, as late as 1650, some maps still indicated that the "Other Sea," the Pacific Ocean, was just beyond the Appalachian Mountains. He also reiterates E.G.R. Taylor's point that some supporters of the Virginian initiative thought of the projected colony mostly as a way-station to China and the Spice Islands (Jamestown Voyages 1: 49n.3). When the explorers set out on May 21, Archer writes, Newport proceeded with a "p*er*fect resolutyon not to returne, but either to finde y^{e} head of this Ryver [the James] . . . the Sea . . . the Mountaynes Apalatsi, or some issue," presumably evidence of precious metals (81).

would enable colonial leaders to differentiate potential allies from enemies. Depictions of natives frequently appear disjointed and haphazard as a result of their preliminary nature, although such representations were doubtless elaborated and punctuated in discussions between observers and Jamestown officials.

The range of investments writers had in their works also impacted representations of Virginia and its inhabitants. We have already seen several possible reasons for the settlers' disparaging views of the colony, views which, because Percy and Archer documented them at length, help to explain why their writings were never published contemporaneously.[13] At the same time that writers perhaps sought and were encouraged to reflect their experiences in a relatively accurate manner, they were also under intense pressure from home to identify those American details that could be promoted. In a letter which John Smith wrote to the Virginia Company, dated between September 10 and early December 1608, he alludes to an earlier correspondence from the Company, "wherein you write . . . that wee feed You but with ifs & ands, hopes, & some few proofes; as if we would keepe the mystery of the businesse to our selues." Smith responds to these charges: "Though I be no scholer, I am past a schoole-boy; and I desire but to know, what either you, and these here doe know, but that I haue learned to tell you by the continuall hazard of my life. I haue not concealed from you any thing I know; but I feare some cause you to beleeue much more then is true" (241-42). One of the famous reasons for Smith's constant disagreements with, and no doubt his lack of preferment by, the Virginia Company was the fact that he refused, unlike men such as Newport, William Brewster, and Sir Walter Cope, to feed the unrealistic fantasies of colonial officials. His letter is critical, for instance, of the inadequate supplies sent to Jamestown: "From your Ship we had not provision in victuals worth twenty pound, and we are more then two hundred to liue vpon this: the one half sick, the other little better." These foodstuffs were clearly insufficient, Smith protests, to sustain men who had been "over-toyling our weake and vnskilfull bodies, to satisfie this desire of present profit, we can scarce ever recover our selues from one Supply to another." His final piece of advice--"as yet you must not looke for any profitable returnes" (243-45)--must have been especially grating to company officials who were highly aware that serious investment required more than a hint of Virginia's potential.

Few writers were as bluntly forthcoming in their reservations and criticisms as Smith; most made, instead, a more politic effort to walk an intricate path that wound its way among numerous conflicting intentions and exigencies, which included colonial administrators' demand for salable information about the New World, writers' own desire for promotion and preferment, as well as the pragmatic need to draw supplies and reinforcements from London to support persistently under-funded initiatives. To backtrack to my second chapter for a moment: Barlowe's rhetoric of praise in relation to North Carolina and its inhabitants was clearly shaped to varying degrees by such intentions and realities. In his preamble to Walter Ralegh, Barlowe does not merely

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[13] For the publishing history of these two works, see Barbour, ed., 1: 80n.2, 129n.1.

suggest that the Roanoke project is a potentially lucrative one for investors, but he also angles in the direction of financing:

> [I] present vnto you this briefe discourse, by which you may iudge how profitable this land is likely to succeede, as well to your selfe . . . as also to her Highnes, and the Common wealth, in which we hope your wisedome will be satisfied, considering, that as much by vs hath bene brought to light, as by those small meanes, and number of men we had, could any way haue bene expected, or hoped for. (92)

His narrative proper offers a solid case for the exploitation of Roanoke on the grounds that the territory is plentiful and that its inhabitants are hospitable. Barlowe's conclusion employs the familiar tactic, used also in the preamble, of suggesting to his sponsor the correspondence between how much support is given and how much of America's bounty is revealed. "Thus Sir, we haue acquainted you with the particulars of our discouerie," he writes, "which we hope hereafter to inlarge, as occasion and assistance shall be giuen" (115). His account is thus comprised of several elements of a classical argument. It is framed by an opening (*exordium*) and conclusion (*peroratio*) addressed to the author's patron. The text is arranged internally by narration (*narratio*) and exposition (*explicatio*), parts which are intended to confirm (*amplificatio*) the future profitability of the American venture *if* the project receives the financial backing it merits. We cannot be exactly sure how Barlowe himself hoped to gain from such support. It is reasonable to assume, though, on the basis of his participation as captain and recorder in the employ of Ralegh--who was at the time, in addition to Elizabeth, one of the two most prominent people in England--that Barlowe had at least some investment in the success of his argument.

Explorers of the 1584 reconnaissance did not starve to death, nor were they subject to the diseases and wars that continually threatened the Jamestown colony. The advancement of individual writers is not, I would argue, as central an issue in many of the Jamestown documents as it is in the Roanoke accounts. These later materials demonstrate rather a more immediate and practical concern, as in Smith's letter (discussed above), to secure the provisions that would enable colonists to survive in America. We find, as a result, moments of a kind of discursive panderism in which writers appear willing to give away laudatory, salable reports of Virginia in the hope of exchanging such information for support for the struggling colony. One of the more pitiable examples of such panderism is a letter from the Council at Jamestown to the Virginia Council of London, which Newport carried with him when he left for England on June 22, 1607. While this document was composed before the outbreak in August of what Percy calls the "Miserable famine," it was undoubtedly written in an environment of considerable distress, as Percy's brief account of the state of the colony immediately following Newport's departure indicates: "Captaine Newport being gone for England, leauing vs (one hundred and foure persons) verie bare and scantie of victualls, furthermore in warres and in danger of the Sauages. We hoped after a supply which

Captaine Newport promised within twentie weekes" (143). The Council's letter, written in the hope of alleviating some of these problems, begins with a tacit acknowledgment and criticism of the fact that relief for the nascent colony was contingent upon favourable reports arriving home from Virginia:

> We acknowledge our selves accomptable for o*u*r time here spent were it but to give you satisfacc*i*on of o*u*r industries and affecc*i*ons to this most ho*noura*ble acc*i*on and the better to quicken those good spirritts which haue alreadie bestowed themselves heere and to putt life into such dead vnderstandings or beleefes that muste firste see and feele the wombe of o*u*r labour and this land before they will entertaine any good hope of vs or of the land. (78)

What follows in the letter is precisely what we might expect given the conditions in which it was written: a glowing relation of settlers' efforts to establish Jamestown and a Barlowean catalogue of the potentially lucrative resources discovered in the area. Overall, the letter argues, "The land would Flowe with milke and honey if so seconded by yo*u*r carefull wisedomes and bountifull hands" (79).[14] Obviously, however, we should view with skepticism any assertions of Virginia's goodness which appear in the context of appeals for assistance.

Representations of others in this document--Spanish and Amerindian--further heighten the letter's sense of urgency and should be read, for this reason, in a similarly cautious light. The Council's letter indicates that, while the English are for the moment "fortified well against the Indians," the threat of the Spanish is more immediately present: "wee entreate your succours . . . with all expedition leaste that all deuouringe Spaniard lay his rauenous hands uppon theas gold showing mountaines, which if we be so enhabled he shall neuer dare to think on" (78-80).[15] There was, in fact, no such threat. Information forwarded to the Spanish ambassador, Don Pedro de Zúñiga,

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[14] In another letter written around the same time, colonist William Brewster employs a similar appeal to investors' greed in the hope of drawing support from London. He describes "Rokes & movntaynes, that prom*m*yseth Infynyt treasver," but adds that "o*u*r Forces be yet to[o] weake, to make Fvrther discovery" (107). His death on August 10, 1607 of wounds inflicted by Indians seems dramatically to underscore his call for additional manpower in the region.

[15] See also Sir Walter Cope's letter to Lord Salisbury, dated August 12, 1607. Virginia, he writes, is "a lande, that promises more, then the Lande of promisse: In steed of mylke we fynde pearle. & golde Inn steede of honye. . . .a Treasure endlesse." Like the Jamestown Council, Cope invokes the Spanish threat as a means of applying pressure for support: "If the Spaniarde . . . Recover thys place before vs, thys action ys vtterly overthrowne" (108-09).

conveys little interest in the upstart colony which, as Spain correctly believed, had been grossly overvalued in the English reports: "They write much com*m*enda*ti*ons of the aire and the soile and the com*m*odities of it: but siluer and golde haue they none" (Carelton 113). Further, as Barbour has observed, both Zúñiga and Philip III took a considerably long time to show any interest in the Virginia initiative (Jamestown Voyages 1: 123n.1). Of course, Spain's apathy towards the Virginia colony does not preclude the possibility that the English thought that an actual threat did exist; I simply want to highlight the need to contextualize the negative portrayal of others, in this case, the "deuouringe Spaniard" of the Council's letter, in order to suggest that such images work, not necessarily to reflect actual circumstances, but, rather, to add weight to colonists' pleas for help. Percy's depictions of savages "creeping vpon all foure, from the Hills like Beares" and "making noise like so many Wolues or Deuils" (133-34, 136) function in a similar way. Though the conflicts which prompted his descriptions were surely an aspect of the harsh settler reality, unlike the hypothetical Spanish invasion, Percy's call for support--"if the beginners of this action doe carefully further vs, the Country being so fruitfull, it would be as great a profit to the Realme of England, as the Indies to the King of Spaine" (143)--raises serious questions about the motivations informing his rhetoric of blame.

If the Council's letter exhibits, as I think it exhibits, a discursive panderism, a necessary acquiescence to the rules of the game (i.e. salable information for support) it also reassures the London Council that all promises in word are verifiable in person by those returning home on the June 22 transport. "Captaine Newporte," for one, "hath seene all and knoweth all, he can fullie satisfie your further expectations." Referring to the most notorious of dissenters and complainers, mariners and settlers, Council members assure the governing body that "wee doubt not [of the land's goodness] but to send them home with goulden heads" (79-80). In this way the leaders at Jamestown emphasize their compliance with the London Council's instructions of 1606, which sought to prevent any public relations threat arriving home from America. That this letter seems to have been written in response to the Virginia Council's direction--"You Shall do well to Send a perfect relation by Capt*ain* Newport of all that is Done of what height you are Seated how far into the Land what Comodities you find what Soil Woods and their Several Kinds and so of all Other things Else to advertise p*ar*ticularly" (53)--further emphasizes the capitulation of the Jamestown authority to the governing body. Indeed, it is difficult to see the rhetorics of blame and praise employed by members of the Jamestown Council, who were clearly straitjacketed into the manufacture of details which would satisfy administrators and investors back home, as any more than the products of an overwhelming, and tacitly acknowledged, form of coercion and duress.

4

It was the business of propagandists such as Robert Johnson to construct out of the shifting and contradictory images of Virginia a cohesiveness and clarity that did not

in fact exist, to craft a narrative, singular in vision, from the conflicting impressions which were the result of the experiences and agendas of writers like Percy, Archer, and members of the Jamestown Council. Johnson and the Virginia Company found in their writings enough material to select and promote without needing to fabricate much of their own. Johnson's resulting portrayal of Virginia as an "earthly Paradice" of inordinate promise and potential, and his depiction of Powhatans as gentle "lost and scattered sheepe" who "by a mutuall enterchange and commerce" can easily be "won and recovered" (237, 240), form the cornerstones of the discourse's main strength--its appeal to greed (cf. Quinn, New American World 5: 235).

We have seen at various points throughout this project that a common rhetorical practice was the distancing of England's colonial objectives, and the mechanisms by which expansionists imagined they would realize these objectives, from the objectives and mechanisms of other European nations, particularly from those of Spain. A similar distancing, though operating at a national level, spurs on each of England's successive attempts to exploit North America. At the same time that writers expressed continuity with former English ventures, they sought also to set the mission with which they were presently involved apart from past ones which often evoked clear images of catastrophe or failure. Quite simply, each successive venture required, because of the ever-expanding number of failures that had preceded it, an even more elaborate rhetorical push. Johnson, for example, attempts to draw support for the group at Jamestown by distancing this settlement from Ralegh's failed colony at Roanoke. Out of royal and public favour since James's accession in 1603 (see Fuller 56ff.), Ralegh is for Johnson a convenient scapegoat and benchmark figure of those with "greedie minds," those who pulled their support away from "our poore countri-men left there" in order to seek more lucrative treasures elsewhere (237-38). An integral part of Johnson's appeal to greed is his appeal to the ethos of his readers in that he assumes they will readily distinguish their own desire for gain from the baser sort of greed epitomized by Ralegh.

In the event that they fail to make this distinction, however, Johnson, after tantalizing his readers with a catalogue of Virginia's commodities, precious metals, and other "hidden treasures," addresses the true purpose of the Jamestown project, which is "(if I forget not my selfe) how it may tend to advance the kingdome of God, by reducing savage people from their blind superstition to the light of Religion" (239). In separating the religious drive informing the present effort from the avaricious desire for material wealth that proved the downfall, in Johnson's oversimplification of historical events, of the Roanoke ventures, the propagandist utilized a public relations tactic common in an era when would-be sponsors were too quickly reminded of past colonial failures and disasters. This strategy works by explaining past undoings as the result of an overemphasis on temporal rather than spiritual rewards, and by assuring readers of the present venture's greater religious integrity. Edward Hayes, in his 1583 report on Gilbert's final Newfoundland expedition which circulated in manuscript but was not published until Hakluyt's 1589 Principall navigations, observes that planting religion among infidels "must be the chiefe intent of such as shall make any attempt that way: or els whatsoever is builded upon other foundation shall never obtaine hapy successe

nor continuance." The fact that the seeds of Christian colonization planted by Newfoundland's discoverers, John and Sebastian Cabot, had failed to bear any fruit for either the English or Amerindians, demonstrates, according to Hayes, that "Gods cause hath not beene chiefly preferred by them [the Cabots], or els God hath not permitted so abundant grace as the light of his word and knowledge of him to be yet reuealed vnto those Infidels before the appointed time" (680). In either case, God was not on the side of the Cabots, nor on the side of any explorer--apparently, as we shall see a little later on, not even Gilbert's--who might have advanced the missionary activities which the Cabots had begun.

Twenty-five years after Hayes's narrative, Gilbert's failed efforts to colonize Newfoundland and the aborted Roanoke settlement as tangible reminders of the onerous cost of trying to do business in America, the stakes, and the reticence among investors, were proportionally higher. In his sermon "A good speed to Virginia" (1609), Robert Gray counters the widespread view that Jamestown will invariably succumb to the same fate as Ralegh's colony. Like Johnson's tract, the main strength of Reverend Gray's sermon is its appeal to greed. (His dedication to the adventurers of the Jamestown plantation cheerfully wishes that "The preseruer of al men . . . [will] make your goings out like an host of men triumphing for the victorie, and your commings in like an armie diuiding the spoile" [A4]). And like Johnson, Gray seeks to differentiate the Virginian and Roanoke projects through a comparison of, among other things, the moral backbone of its key players, or what he terms "the means" and "the managing of the means." "[I]n all likelihood," concludes Gray, "the euent [outcome] of this [the Jamestown venture] cannot be judged by the euent of the former [the Roanoke project]" (D). Gray's tract recalls William Crashaw's "A sermon preached in London" (1610), delivered earlier on February 21, 1609, on the occasion of Lord De La Warr's initial departure for Virginia. Crashaw criticizes those "vnconuerted & vnsanctified men" who seek "meerely the world and themselues, and no further." Such men, Crashaw continues, make endless excuses and objections in order to justify their neglectful inaction, "but the fountaine of all is, because they may not haue present profit" (Cv-C2). Attempting to counter their apathy and objections, Crashaw proclaims that God backs the English in the Virginian enterprise, and that His association distinguishes the present cause from previous attempts to settle America:

> God hath offered the meanes and opportunity to do it: first granting vs the meanes to *discouer the land* more fully then those that attempted it before vs: then, to find out a faire, easie, and short passage, as though hee had seated vs here and them there for such an entercourse: then, giuing vs *fauour in the eies of the sauages*, who rather inuite vs then resist vs: then, directing vs to a land where is want of inhabitants, and consequently roome both for them and vs; and to a people inclinable (as we see by some experience already) first to ciuility, and so to religion: and to such a land and such a people as (more then any other people or

> land we know of) haue the commodities which we want, and want that which we haue for them. (C3v)

Numerous other Virginia promotionalists employed what Alfred A. Cave calls the "Canaan theme" (9-11), the strategy of aligning God on the side of the English, His chosen people. On April 25, 1609, two months before the principal expedition under the second charter set sail, William Symonds delivered a sermon, published the same year as "Virginia, a Sermon Preached at White-Chapel." Probably in attendance, according to Louis B. Wright, were newly appointed governor of Jamestown, Sir Thomas Gates; his deputy, Thomas West or Lord De La Warr; admiral of the fleet, Sir George Somers; commander of the admiral's vessel the *Sea Venture*, Christopher Newport; and William Strachey, the colony's secretary (Religion and Empire 90-92). Symonds' text disavows utterly the significance of temporal things which are, he says, "but the type and shadow" of God's blessing [29] in order to discuss what is truly important, the propagation of the gospel. He then subordinates this religious encouragement to the material benefits that would most appeal to colonialists. Invoking the "Canaan theme," Symonds promises that, like the children of Israel who brought gold and silver out of Egypt, God's elected English "shall see the blessings of God redoubled upon [them]" (30). Although God does not promise specific temporal dividends--"For if the Lord had enticed [Abraham] by arguments taken from the opportunitie and sweetnesse of the place: how should it be knowen, whether hee went by the power of the promise of God, or by some carnall inducement?" (23)--Symonds encourages colonialists that God "will give thee the treasures of . . . things hid in secret places" (11), and that the land is indeed a most plentiful one: "As for the opportunitie of the place, I leave it to the grave Politician: and for the commodities, let the industrious Merchant speake" (25). Similarly, in his sermon published as "Sauls prohibition staide. Or the apprehension, and examination of Saule" (1610), originally delivered at St. Paul's on May 28, 1609, Daniel Price attacked his "*lasie*, *drousie*, yet *barking countrimen*" who denounced Virginia for its lack of immediate reward, and exhorted those who would to "goe and possesse the land, it is a good land flowing with milke and honey; God shall blesse you, and those ends of the world shall honour him" (F2v-F3v). Like Symonds's tract, the primary inducement to participate is spiritual, although the explicit promise of temporal rewards lends the discourse a wider rhetorical force and urgency.

5

Considering the tremendous appeal to greed exerted in such texts it is easy to draw an entirely condemning picture of Jacobeans as hypocritical and avaricious. Just such an image have many recent writers, influenced in large measure by what Peter C. Mancall terms the "anti-Columbus literature of the early 1990s," employed in a campaign to foreground the inglorious motivations which drove the European

expansion into the New World between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.[16] While I agree that these motivations were inglorious, I want to complicate this general impression by suggesting that the written record does not tell as full a story as we might think, or, to be more precise, that the written record leaves traces of another story which it is possible to sketch in some detail. The weight of belaboured promises and assurances in promotional materials does not merely speak to the greed of investors; as a means of defence, it presses itself against an increasingly influential discourse which vigorously challenged, and threatened to undermine, England's early imperialist agendas and assumptions. The appeal to greed as employed by early modern propagandists sought to mask or disavow, by way of an appeasement, the powerfully undermining accusations of a counter rhetoric which objected to that very same greed. As a result, promotional works of the period are inherently tentative, uncertain, and ambivalent.

The fact that few tangible instances of this counter discourse exist in the early Jamestown period, combined with the prevalence of defensive responses to it, indicates something of the extraordinary level of anxiety which the issue of greed produced in early seventeenth-century London, as well as the extent to which contemporary power structures worked to expunge potentially seditious viewpoints from the official historical record.[17] To realize a sense of just how effective censorship policies and practices were during the period from about 1606 to 1622, the year of the Algonkian uprising, we need only consider briefly the evident outspokenness with which subsequent writers attacked cupidity. In 1625, for example, William Alexander Stirling wishes in "An encouragement to colonies" that the Virginia participants had set aside their "dreames of Honour and Profit, which doe intoxicate the braines, and impoyson the minde with transitory pleasures" (G2v). John Donne similarly laments, in Five sermons vpon speciall occasions (1626), which text includes his sermon on Acts 1:8 delivered to the Virginia Company in the months following the attack,

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[16] Of those works observed in my introduction (note 8), see especially Sale's chapters, "Jamestown" and "Powhatans and Others," in The Conquest of Paradise 267-324.

[17] I have in mind here Michel Foucault's 1976 lecture in which he formulated his concept of *genealogy*. Foucault first drew a distinction between two forms of subjugated knowledges, one the product of "meticulous, erudite, exact historical knowledge," and the other the result of "local and specific knowledges . . . disqualified from the hierarchy of knowledges and sciences." Foucault thus defined *genealogy* as "the union of erudite knowledge and local memories which allows us to establish a historical knowledge of struggles." By comparison, *archaeology* is the "appropriate methodology of this analysis of local discursivities" (83-85). My analysis of the appeal to greed in Renaissance texts seeks to elaborate the "struggle" taking place between two vastly discrepant discourses, the one sponsored and authorized, the other subversive, marginalized, silenced.

> O, if you could once bring a *Catchisme* to bee as good ware amongst them as a Bugle, as a knife, as a hatchet. O, if you would bee as ready to hearken at the returne of a *ship*, how many *Indians* were conuerted to *Christ Iesus*, as what trees, or druggs, or Dyes that Ship had brought, then you were in your right way, and not till then; Libertie and Abundance, are Characters of kingdomes, and a kingdome is excluded in the Text [Acts 1:8]; The Apostles were not to looke for it, in their employment, nor you in this your Plantation. (C2)

William Vaughan in 1626 also reproves the avarice of colonialists; at its root, he insists, lies an "imagainary obiect, wherein most preferre priuate fantasies, before the intellectuall facultie" (Ccc3v). Finally here, in "Adam in his innocence" (1638), William Bloys attacked the folly of travellers who "are whiled about with the world, and doe compasse sea and land for gaine, or to accomplish their designes; but they stirre not in pursuit of heavenly blessings, their minds being blinded by the god of this world" (27).

Such criticisms appeared in the context of a massive examination and evaluation, in the years following the 1622 attack, of the events and motivations which had helped create sufficiently unfavorable conditions to give rise to the insurrection. Such writings were authorized for much the same reason that Johnson used to openly assault Ralegh's motivations: they were written at a safe enough distance, temporally and conceptually, from the obvious failures of the past, and they anticipated successful future endeavours by highlighting and distancing the flawed and culpable actions of former colonialists. The following sections of this chapter will attempt to flesh out ways that the Jamestown promotional writings leave traces of a similar anxiety on the subject of "transitory pleasures" and "imaginary obiect[s]."

6

It is revealing of the level of intense disagreement among proponents and critics of early modern expansion that propagandists' responses to the charges of greed never appear as curt or dismissive rebuttals, but, rather, as jumping points to full-blown discussions of England's right to enter into foreign nations. Before and after the settlement at Jamestown the lawfulness of an American intrusion was a seriously contested issue. George Peckham, criticizing "some mens judgements," devoted the second chapter of his "True reporte" (1583) to the matter of the lawfulness of the Newfoundland project. He provides the following description of "the mutuall society and fellowship betweene man and man prescribed by the Lawe of Nations":

> [F]rom the first beginning of the creation of the world and from the renuing of the same after Noes floode, all men have agreed, that no violence shoulde be offered to Ambassadours. That the Sea with his

> Havens should bee common. . . .And that Straungers sholde not be dryven away from the place or Countrey whereunto they doo come. If it were so then, I demaunde in what age, and by what Law is the same forbidden or denied since? For who doubteth but that it is lawfull for Christians to use trade and traficke with Infidels or Savages, carrying thether such commodities as they want, and bringing from thence some parte of theyr plentie. A thing so commonly and generally practised, bothe in these our dayes, and in times past, beyonde the memory of man, both by Christians and Infidels, that it needeth no further proofe. (450)

Clearly there remained substantial doubt in the minds of many by the early-seventeenth century so that promotionalists were constantly having to defend the Virginia project on the basis of laws which were, according to Peckham's earlier argument, a fixed and universally regarded aspect of international relations. In 1609 the Reverend Crashaw counters what he calls the "first and fundamentall" objection, the lawfulness of the action, a "question being moued by many [and one which] keepes many from assisting it" (D3). Robert Gray likewise considers the "first" or primary objection to be a widespread doubt of the "right or warrant [by which] we can enter into the land of these Sauages, take away their rightfull inheritance from them, and plant our selues in their places, being vnwronged or vnprouoked by them" (C3v). Robert Johnson, whose "Nova Britannia" was published in order to supplement such oral propaganda, likewise opposes the "many discouragements, [made] partly by our friends and neighbours" who deride the action on all grounds, especially its lawfulness, with "extraordinarie zeale" and "malicious ignorance." These detractors, Johnson adds, are "a most vile minded sort, and for the most part badde members of this Citie," and--"(if they were not mettewithall and curbed by authoritie)"--their criticisms would prove "the very wrack of Merchandizing" (241-43).[18]

The tracts produced under the Company's own heading further illustrate the hard stance taken in response to Jamestown's detractors. "A trve declaration of the estate of the Colonie in Virginia" (1610), which Quinn considers the "most distinguished piece of propaganda for the colony" (New American World 5: 248), condemns what it calls "the tide of vulgar opinion" and "the interposition of clamorous & tragicall narrations" of detractors, who "(to justifie their owne disloialty) have cast vpon so fruitfull, so fertile, and so excellent a country" (A3-A3v). The pamphlet reiterates the point made by others that it is "not vnlawful, that wee possesse part of their land and dwell with them," provided the English conduct themselves according to laws which God and men have prescribed to all nations (B3-B4). Another tract published by the Virginia Company in the same year, "A true and sincere declaration of the purposes and ends of

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[18] Though reactions against England's colonial activities were clearly prohibited, as I have outlined, Johnson's is one of the very few surviving indications that actual disciplinary measures were taken.

the plantation begun in Virginia," seeks to "redeeme" the action from the "imputations and aspertions , [sic] with which ignorant rumor, virulent enuy, or inpious subtilty , [sic] daily callumniateth our industries, and the successe of it," and also to "temper and conuince, the malignity of the false, and treacherous" (A3v).

The Virginia Company was struggling to counter not only persistent doubts about the lawfulness of its American activities, but also the widespread uncertainty and disillusionment which followed Gates's shipwreck at Bermuda in 1609 and the colonists' subsequent arrival at Jamestown.[19] The increasing use of *antirrhesis* in Company propaganda, the intensifying rejection, that is, of anti-colonialist arguments on the basis of an alleged falsehood and wickedness on the part of detractors, especially after 1609, seems to indicate an awareness among Company officials that the greatest hindrance to North American settlement was not logistical or financial: it was, rather, an impediment shaped largely by public reaction and emotion. Indeed, Virginia's proponents lashed out with the greatest rigour when critics' doubts and reservations

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[19] The incidents which followed the wreck of the flagship *Sea Venture* in the Bermudas on July 28, 1609 with Newport, Gates, Somers, Strachey, Jourdain and some 150 Virginia-bound colonists onboard have been discussed at length and need not be elaborated here in full. Briefly, after a stay of about ten months, the crew were finally able to set sail for Virginia in two vessels they had built. When the English arrived in Jamestown at the end of May 1610, they were shocked to find the under-supplied colony desolated by hunger, disease, idleness, and mutiny. On June 7 Governor Gates decided to abandon Jamestown, but he cancelled these plans when De La Warr arrived unexpectedly to help rebuild and reorganize the colony. The main primary accounts of the Bermuda incident are Silvester Jourdain's "A plaine description of the Barmudas, now called Sommer Ilands," and "A true reportorie" of William Strachey, which work includes the fullest, most disparaging account of the state of the colony when the settlers arrived. Although because of its negative representation of Jamestown "A true reportorie" was not published until the third edition of Purchas's Purchase his Pilgrimage (1625), Shakespeare had read Strachey's manuscript, and used it, along with Jourdain's "A plaine description," as sources for The Tempest. Richard Rich, likewise shipwrecked at Bermuda, also gives an account of the trials at Bermuda and of the state of the colony in "Newes from Virginia. The lost Flocke Triumphant" (1610), a rather tedious pro-Virginia piece written in verse. Alexander Whitaker provides additional details in "Good newes from Virginia. Sent to the Covnsell and Company of Virginia . . . Wherein also is a narration of the present State of that Countrey" (1613). For secondary information to do with the Bermuda shipwreck and the state of the colony in 1610, see Wright and Freund's introduction to Strachey, Historie xx-xxv. Meredith Anne Skura provides an excellent bibliography of historical and critical studies, especially those with bearing on the intersection of Shakespeare's play and its discursive contexts, 42-69, esp. n.1. See also "*Sea Venture*" in the index to Greenblatt, Shakespearean Negotiations; Salingar *passim.*

were perhaps the most soundly based, as they seem to have been when reports of the devastation in Jamestown began circulating throughout London.

Promotionalists, to be sure, had long recognized that the matter of an American intrusion was for many a moral and emotional issue, and not one that could simply and easily be rationalized on legalistic grounds, although the precedent of the Law of Nations certainly helped writers such as Peckham to build their cases in favour of American initiatives.[20] The reminder of Spanish cruelties in the New World was loudly sounded in a counter-colonialist rhetoric and writers were forced to distinguish aggressive from non-agressive intrusions--with English actions, of course, epitomizing the latter.[21] It was a distinction clearly present in texts intended for public consumption, although originally private discourses reveal a story which obscures the line separating violent from non-violent actions. For instance, while policy maker Richard Hakluyt the elder advocated in 1585 a courteous and familiar treatment of the Indians partly so that the English could avoid becoming "hatefull unto them, as the Spaniard is in Italie and in the West Indies" ("Inducements" 334), his advice was intended more to help travellers create conditions favourable to the collection of American data than to promote any quasi-humanitarian or religious concern for the rights of Amerindians. Hakluyt certainly waxes militant elsewhere in the "Inducements." At the first sign of native wrongdoing, he instructs explorers to "proceed with extremitie" and to "conquer, fortifie" (330). Further, if, during the recommended peaceful intrusion, the Indians prove unwilling to trade with their visitors, then conquest, the lawyer affirms, is the best line of approach. The downside

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[20] For discussions on the Law of Nations, see Green and Dickason.

[21] The 1583 publication of an English version of Las Casas's famous *Relación de la destruyción de las Indias*, titled The Spanish Colonie, Or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts and gestes of the Spaniards in the West Indies, called the newe World, gave the myth of the Black Legend an even broader currency, one Hakluyt the younger made full use of in Caput 11 of his colonial manifesto to the queen, "Discourse of Western Planting." See Hart, "The Black Legend"; Pennington 181-82. One of the most damning accounts of Spanish cruelty towards Amerindians is in William Lightfoot's rare "The complaint of England" (1587), written the year before the Armada, in which Lightfoot embellishes details found in Las Casas's text in his depiction of Spanish "monsters" (see esp. G4). See also Walter Ralegh's use of the Black Legend to counter Spanish claims to victory against Grenville in "A report of the truth of the fight about the iles of Açores, this last sommer" (1591). Borrowing from Las Casas's *Relación* and various translations, Ralegh details Spanish cruelties against Indians in order to heighten English animosity and fear: "Who would therefore repose trust in such a nation of rauinous straungers, and especially in those Spaniardes which more greedily thirst after English bloud, then after the liues of anie other people?" (D1b).

of this alternative, Hakluyt states, is that "Conqueste . . . doethe require long tyme" (342).

The elder Hakluyt's practical stance towards natives echoes that of his younger cousin one year earlier in his private tract to Elizabeth. While Hart and Pennington each find an anti-Spanish and pro-Amerindian expression in the "Discourse" ("The Black Legend" 379; Pennington 181), my sense is that the image of the native in Hakluyt's text is more ambiguously drawn. Hakluyt's Amerindian is a floating signifier, what Terry Goldie might refer to as the indigene serving as a "semiotic pawn on a chess board under the control of the white signmaker" (10). Near the beginning of the "Discourse," Hakluyt certainly appears sympathetic towards the "simple" and "poore" Indians, who are "easie to be perswaded" and "very desirous to become Christians" (214-15). The impression of native amiability and docility in Caput 1 is not surprising, given the opening chapter's intention to persuade the queen, as the subheading indicates, "That this westerne discoverie will be greately for thinlargemente of the gospell of Christe, whereunto the Princes of the refourmed Relligion are chefely bounde, amongest whome her Ma^{tie} is principall" (214). Caput 1 makes an appeal to Elizabeth as defender of the faith, as one obligated, as was Saint Paul, to attend to those whose souls are otherwise lost. The task, Hakluyt implies, will be an easy one since "the people of America crye oute unto us their nexte neighboures to come and helpe them." It is also an urgent one, considering the "many millions" of natives whom Papists have converted while the English have remained wholly ineffective in their efforts to deliver the infidels (216-217; cf. also Caput 11). In Caput 15, attending to practical matters that do not demand as powerful a rhetorical emphasis as trying to convince the reticent queen to open her purse, Hakluyt recommends a "strengthe wth men, armo^{r} and munition," in addition to strong fortifications, partly to defend against foreign attack, and partly to keep the potentially wayward Indians in line (274). In the next chapter, the "Meanes to kepe this enterprise from overthrowe and the enterprisers from shame and dishonour," Hakluyt evaluates the worst-case scenario that the Indians will refuse to trade with the English, a predicament settlers can remedy, Hakluyt states, "eyther wth curtesie or by pollicie and force" (282). Ultimately, Hakluyt, like his cousin whose views he had assimilated, encouraged, and promoted, considers that a heavy-handed militant approach toward Amerindians is entirely justifiable in certain circumstances.

Hakluyt the younger's recommended strategies of dealing with natives remained fairly constant throughout his writing career. His final translated work, "Virginia richly valued, by the description of the maine land of Florida, her next neighbour" (1609) suggests policies which, though they may appear a bit harsher than those in the "Discourse," are on the whole quite similar. In his dedication to the Virginia Council, Hakluyt observes that the Indians "here noted" are "very eloquent and well spoken," although they are "not ouermuch to be trusted: for they be the greatest traitors of the world. . . .They be also as vnconstant as the wethercock, and most readie to take all occasions of aduantages to doe mischiefe" (A4). With such "vnconstant" savages, he argues, a gentle approach, while preferable, may not be sufficient, in which case, "we shall not want hamerours and rough masons enow, I meane our old soldiours trained up

in the Netherlands, to square and prepare them to our Preachers hands" (A4). Hakluyt's severe view of the Amerindian problem was shaped by the depiction of natives "here noted," those images, that is, in the anonymously written Portuguese text from which he worked, the *Relaçam verdadeira dos trabalhos que ho governador don Fernando d'Souto e certos fidalgos portugueses passarom* (1557), a relation of Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto's quest for the mythical Seven Cities over a 350,000-square-mile patch of land spanning modern Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. Hakluyt's translation does not, therefore, express the anti-Spanish and "pro-Amerindian" sentiments of Caputs 1 and 11 in the "Discourse": while the editor appropriated the Portuguese text in order to promote, through the analogy of her southern neighbor, Virginia's ostensible wealth and abundancy, his version remains largely a mediation of Spanish heroism and Indian antagonism as seen through the eyes of the anonymous Portuguese witness. As a promotional text produced around the time of Johnson's "Nova Britannia," his translation is something of an anomoly in its distinctly pejorative representation of Amerindians. Hakluyt's rhetoric of justification for hypothetical disciplinary actions against the Indians is consistent, however, with the prolepses of violence that we have already seen above in the two Hakluyts' 1584 and 1585 writings.

In my opening chapter I observed the same sort of rhetoric of justification in, among other places, Dionyse Settle's attempt to explain English conduct after the slaughter at Bloody Point in 1577. Perceiving the lack of influence that "fayre meanes" had among the Inuit, "we disposed our selues," Settle writes, "contrarie to our inclination, something to be cruel" (25). The anticipation of the ineffectiveness of English courtesy informs practically every discussion of natives in the Virginia promotional materials which appeared before 1622. Most writers hedged their bets, as if allowing for the fact that their rhetoric of an easy, peaceable conversion was a potentially fallible one. Reverend Gray was perfectly capable of uttering in one instance, "farre be it from the nature of the English, to exercise any bloudie crueltie amongst these people," and then in another, "we might lawfully make warre vppon the Sauages of Virginia" (C2v, C4v). Johnson, who maintains that Indians are "generally very loving and gentle," provides a similar disclaimer for possible martial actions against them: "Our intrusion into their possession shall tend to their great good, and no way to their hurt, unlesse as unbridled beastes, they procure it to themselves" (238-39).

The rhetoric of justification as we see it here has as its underlying principle Aristotle's theory of natural slavery and other classical and biblical assumptions concerning the inherent right of civilized nations to make war on barbarians and infidels (see Pagden, Lords of All the World *passim*). In the early-seventeenth century, this justification derived much of its usefulness and potency from the way its xenophobic lineage was rooted, not in a specific and identifiable text or authority, but in a widely held communal discourse. As a result, the rhetoric of justification could be invoked, swiftly and with great alacrity, in its metamorphized form: a rhetoric of blame in which Amerindians were held accountable for whatever heinous actions they had allegedly committed against the "courteous" and "fair" English, whose only genuine error, after all, was the laudably humane one of giving the benefit of the doubt to savages in the

first place. This discursive transformation takes place almost imperceptibly, as if the resulting blame were an inevitable and natural outgrowth of Anglo-American relations. In 1610, after reports of Indian attacks on the weakened Jamestown colony had reached London, the Virginia Company tried to assuage anxious investors by turning the Law of Nations against natives: "[T]here is no trust to the fidelitie of humane beasts, except a man will make a league, with Lions, Beares, and Crocodiles. . . .[T]hey haue violated the lawe of nations, and vsed our Ambassadors as *Ammon* did the seruants of *Dauid*: If in him it were a iust cause to warre against the Ammonites, it is lawfull, in vs, to secure our selues, against the infidels" ("A trve declaration" B3v-B4). And on March 22, 1622, after the Powhatan uprising, Johnson's "generally very loving and gentle" Amerindians finally revealed themselves the "unbridled beasts" of the propagandist's prophetic warning. In a tract published by the authority of King James, "A Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affaires in Virginia. With a Relation of the Barbarous Massacre in the time of peace and League" (1622), Virginia Company publicist Edward Waterhouse writes:

> [O]ur hands which before were tied with gentlenesse and faire vsage, are now set at liberty by the treacherous violence of the Sauages, not vntying the Knot, but cutting it: So that we, who hitherto haue had possession of no more ground then their waste, and our purchase at a valuable consideration to their owne contentment, gained; may now by right of Warre and law of Nations, inuade the Country, and destroy them who sought to destroy vs. (D3v-D4)

If Pagden's remark that the "'conquest' of Virginia could never be described with any plausibility in the martial terms used to depict the Spanish seizure of Mexico and Peru" (Lords of All the World 66) was ever wholly accurate--and my sense of the scatterings of explicit and implicit martial justifications throughout most colonial writings of the period is that it was not, even in the face of the promotional necessity to distinguish Spanish cruelty from a milder English approach--it certainly stopped being so after 1622. Drawing a comparison between Oviedo's lying and unconstant West Indians and the savages of Virginia, Waterhouse lauds Spanish methods of dealing with barbarians, and holds up the actions of the *conquistadores* as a model and precedent for the English to follow (see esp. E, E3, E4-E4v). In advice that revisits and updates Hakluyt the elder's point about the lengthy time of conquest, Waterhouse announces:

> [T]he way of conquering them is much more easie then of ciuilizing them by faire meanes, for they are a rude, barbarous, and naked people, scattered in small companies, which are helps to Victorie, but hinderances to Ciuilitie: Besides that, a conquest may be of many, and at once; but ciuility is in particular, and slow, the effect of long time, and great industry. (D4v)

The Virginia Company's propaganda sought in part to mask from would-be participants what it privately admitted were its own oversights and negligence,[22] and the most effective way to accomplish this concealment was, as it was in 1610, and for Settle in 1577, to tap into an already existing and prevalent xenophobic discourse. Waterhouse's pamphlet marks a decisive turning point in English colonial policy, a turning point which had been anticipated by several decades of latently accusatory rhetoric, and one which foreshadowed years of increasingly hostile Anglo-Amerindian relations.[23]

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There is no question that such a xenophobic discourse did exist, that it was shared by enough members of the community to which propagandist works were aimed so that the discursive shift from a rhetoric of justification to one of blame was not only possible but inevitable. I would like to stress, however, that promotionalists also sought, whether in earnest or in an act of appeasement, to take into account the opposing viewpoints of those whose critiques pushed beyond the matter of lawfulness in order to question the very motivations and assumptions which lay behind England's colonial endeavours. In his 1583 manuscript, Edward Hayes identified a mood that would continue to augment after his report of Gilbert's disastrous voyage. He had indicated that the success of an American venture depended on the missionary sincerity of its participants. It is every man's duty, he adds, "to examine his owne motions: which if the same proceed of ambition or auarice, he may assure himselfe it commeth not of God, and therefore can not haue confidence of Gods protection and assistance against the violence (els irresistable) both of sea, and infinite perils upon the land" (680).

Quinn's claim that the missionary objective in Hayes's narrative is "customary if not wholly formal" (England and the Discovery of America 236) tells only part of the story: his text, a relation of the events leading up to Gilbert's death at sea, uses the

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[22] See, for example, the Virginia Council's letter to the governor and council at Virginia, dated August 1, 1622, which admits that the native uprising resulted partly from English idleness and an underestimation of the increasing intolerance towards settlement. In Kingsbury, ed., 3: 666-73.

[23] Rountree provides a useful study of the historical contexts leading up to the attack in Pocohontas's People, esp. 66-75. As she observes, the March 22 attempt to drive the English out of Virginia resulted in increasingly violent English efforts to force Algonkians to make room for them. Reinforced by additional soldiers and colonists from home, the English began retaliatory attacks in June. The growth of the colony is an indication, needless to say, of the success of England's military strikes. Jamestown's population was about 1,300 by 1625, after which time it grew exponentially (75; see Morgan 404).

missionary rhetoric to align the writer's sympathies with those of his audience, ultimately by finding fault with the main actor himself. If, as Hayes had indicated, God rewarded and protected those whose "motions" did not spring from their cupidity, but from a desire to further the will of God, then surely Gilbert's ocean peril required explanation in order to mitigate the dis-ease among members of his audience. Hayes's introduction indicates that he had precisely such an assuagement in mind: "[L]east any man should be dismaid by example of other folks calamity, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as my selfe was an eye witness, to deliuer the circumstance and maner of our proceedings in that action" (681). The text labours under the minor tension of having to admit--because of God's apparent design that the general's efforts should bear no temporal fruit, and because of the promotional necessity of drawing out of the disaster a lesson to settle the minds of future investors--to some culpability on Gilbert's part. While the general's reputation remains for the most part untarnished by the report, his demise eased the construction of Gilbert as a scapegoat in diminutive form, "taxed," as Hayes puts it, with the reproachable though not very serious crimes of temerity and presumption (696).

Exactly how much Hayes's account of Gilbert's colonial failures and personal shortcomings had to do with the fact that his manuscript was not published for six years is something we will probably never know. Equally vexing is the improbability of learning how much of Hayes's narrative Hakluyt the younger touched up before he included it in his first collection. We do know that the official announcement of Gilbert's voyage, Peckham's "True reporte," published in November or December 1583, presents a somewhat more valiant side of Gilbert's character.[24] Very likely it was for promotional reasons that Peckham postponed the announcement of Gilbert's grim death at sea, left the general's whereabouts uncertain, and added that he was busy preparing a new supply for Newfoundland.[25] Despite Peckham's vigorous propaganda his report shows some doubt over the issue of Gilbert's motives, as if he was influenced by the

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[24] Hayes's report was probably written and handed to Peckham in October 1583, following the expedition's return on September 22. Peckham's report, though clearly influenced by Hayes, was mostly composed before the return of the *Golden Hind*.

[25] Hayes's oral and written reports to Peckham may also have been unclear on the subject of Gilbert's fate but by 1589 Hakluyt would have felt justified in editing his source material to make Gilbert's death certain. The general's death in Hayes's (or Hakluyt's) narrative is one of the more famous ones in England's early colonial history. On September 9, 1583, Gilbert, onboard the "lucky" tiny frigate, the *Squirrel*, was separated in a violent storm from the *Golden Hind*, a forty-ton vessel owned and commanded by Edward Hayes. Moments before the *Squirrel* vanished into the sea, the *Hind* sailed close enough for Hayes and his fellows to witness Gilbert, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, calling out to his countrymen in the other vessel, "Wee are as neere to heauen by Sea, as by lande" (695).

need to examine the "motions" insisted upon in Hayes's account. Certainly he was responding to a climate of severe public scrutiny. Given the usefulness of Gilbert's enterprise to the promotion of Peckham's own colonial project, the general's failure to return must have been something of an untimely and devastating blow (see Quinn, England and the Discovery of America 377-79).

To lessen the impact of Gilbert's ill-fated enterprise, a project which had "begun, continued, and ended aduersly" (Hayes 681), Peckham assumes the critical stance of one made wary by Gilbert's repeated failures. Peckham tells his audience that, after being informed of the sad news that Gilbert's whereabouts were uncertain, he was reminded of the narrative of Themistocles, the Athenian statesman and military commander, in Plutarch's Lives. Peckham relates the story, which he had likely encountered in Thomas North's popular English translation of 1579, in brief: Themistocles informed the citizens of Athens that he had devised a plan which would prove to the considerable profit of the nation, but that it ought not to be revealed until he had first discussed the matter with a wise person of their choice. The Athenians chose their highly revered philosopher and general, Aristides. In a private meeting with Aristides, Themistocles outlined his plan, which involved demobilizing the enemies of Athens by setting fire to their naval forces. Following this discussion, the philosopher informed his fellow citizens that Themistocles's project was indeed a potentially lucrative one for the state, but that, in his opinion, it was also dishonest. The Athenians, without asking any details of the plan, rejected and condemned it, preferring, as Peckham writes, "honest and upright dealing before profite" (446-47).

The parallels and discrepancies between the stories of Themistocles and Gilbert would have been immediately apparent to Peckham's audience. While Themistocles's ideas were the impudent ones of a bold and headstrong empire builder, the statesman did not share Gilbert's well-known tendency to make impetuous decisions and to act on rashly conceived plans. It was to his credit that the Athenian did not implement his project without first consulting the opinion of a virtuous counsellor and without taking into consideration the voices of the Athenian citizens. Peckham invokes the *translatio imperii* in order to transform himself into an Aristidesean defender of the voice of the populace, and, not coincidentally, of their enemies, thereby assuring his audience that he was not sidestepping their warranted objections to Gilbert's own "motions" with false rhetoric and propaganda. The minimal narrative of Themistocles and Aristides forced Peckham, he tells us, to think hard on the subject of Gilbert's recent endeavours:

> By occasion of this historie, I drewe my selfe into a more deeper consideration, of thys late undertaken voyage, whether it were as well pleasing to almightie God, as profitable to men? as lawfull as it seemed honourable. As well gratefull to the Savages, as gainfull to the Christians. And upon mature deliberation, I founde the action to bee honest and profitable, and therefore allowable by the opinion of Aristides if he were nowe alive, which beeing by me heerein sufficiently prooved . . . I doubt not but that all good mindes, wyll endevour themselves to be

> assistauntes to this so commendable an enterprise, by the valiant and woorthy Gentlemen our Countrimen alreadie attempted and undertaken. Nowe whereas I doo understande that Sir Humfrey Gilbert, his adherents, associates, and freendes doo meane with a convenient supplie . . . to maintaine, pursue and followe, this intended voyage already in part performed. (447)

Framed by references to Gilbert's uncertain present and then to his definite future, the story of Themistocles and Aristides enables Peckham to work through the difficulties posed by Gilbert's dubious reputation.

While Hayes's and Peckham's texts, as propaganda, are inherently argumentative, one essential element of which mode of writing is a dialectic effected through the *refutatio* of opposing viewpoints, the elaborateness of their justifications suggests that the contemporary oppositional voice was a significant one indeed. It is telling that the history Peckham recalls locates the voice of the populace centrestage, with the power to select their own mediator, and ultimately to accept or reject the plans of their statesman. While we cannot say with certainty that Peckham's sincerely or artfully contrived recollection demonstrates a clear anxiety in relation to his audience, the story from Plutarch suggests at least some measure of defensiveness, and a strong intention to effect the appearance of concern. Part of this defensiveness seems to result from the fact that Peckham was a stay-at-home writer: not an authority in the same sense as Hayes who had witnessed events in America, Peckham seeks to cultivate an authority based on the amount of *thought* he has devoted to Gilbert's actions. Through the use of a rather redundant comparative, Peckham emphasizes that he is not contemplating matters only for the first time but, rather, because of the story of Themistocles, he is scrutinizing them under a more intense light: "I drewe my selfe into a *more deeper* consideration. . . ." (my emphasis). Using the rhetorical posture of a "more deeper consideration," the writer collaborates with his audience in order to legitimize, ultimately to intervene with, their opposing viewpoints. Peckham appropriates and ventriloquizes the opinion of Aristides in an effort to settle an audience which vigorously challenged the "motions" or motives underpinning England's westward expansion. Of course, Peckham's readers can refuse his project by withholding their support, but his hope is that they will accept his Aristidesean approbation of the present venture's integrity, an approval made with the public's concern for "honest and upright dealing before profite" firmly in mind.

Peckham's report, the fullest public expression of a plan to colonize America in its day and one Hakluyt used extensively when he wrote to the queen in 1584, proved an enduring and highly influential text. The dominant colonial topoi which Peckham was the first to synthesize into an elaborate discussion--the lawfulness of the action, England's missionary aims, the multifarious benefits of trade--were never as pertinent as they were to ideologues of the early seventeenth century. There are no promotional texts of the early Jamestown period that do not at least touch on each of these topics. Not surprisingly, writers at this time found equally compelling the discursive

mechanisms by which Peckham refracted accusations of greed. Even more resonantly than in Peckham's report, the Virginia Company texts exhibit an overt defensiveness, with the issue of cupidity at its focal point. Reverend Gray, addressing the issue of military action against the Americans, insists that war is lawful provided that it is undertaken not for the sake of covetousness and cruelty but for the sake of peace and unity. He entreats all present and future adventurers to "examine his whole heart," in order to ensure the integrity of their religious motivations (C4v). William Crashaw responds to a criticism aimed at the issue of recompense to natives for commodities and lands expropriated. "These things they haue, these they may spare, these we neede, these we will take of them. But what will we giue them?" Crashaw cogitates. Even though the answer has been worked out in advance, by Crashaw and by nearly every other Christian commentator on the New World dating back from Peckham to Columbus, the Reverend's rhetorical question leaves the impression that he is as troubled by the criticism as certain members of his audience are. As if moved by an epiphany, he replies,

> [W]e will giue them such things as they greatly desire, and doe holde a sufficient recompence for any of the foresaide commodities we take of them: but we holde it not so; and therefore out of our humanitie and conscience, we will giue them more, namely such things as they want and neede, and are infinitely more excellent then all wee take from them: 1. *Ciuilitie* for their bodies, 2. *Christianitie* for their soules. . . .[W]e are so farre from disinheriting them of their possessions, or taking any thing from them, that contrariwise we will make them much richer, euen for matter of this life, then now they are, as they themelues will hereafter confesse. (D4-D4v)

For someone who asserts in his sermon that he will not once call into question the integrity of the Virginian action (D2), Crashaw devotes much space and energy to justifying the motivations of his colleagues. His reaction is largely to a public skepticism to do with the inadequacy of compensation to natives: unlike the petty complaints of disillusioned settlers, reactions against colonialists taking material advantage of the Indians form a discouragement to participation which, as Crashaw puts it, "troubled the conscience" (E). Attempting to unburden the collective conscience, the clergyman assures his readers that participants, as Christians, will take nothing from the heathens against their will, but only by fair and lawful bargain, just as Abraham had purchased Machpelah from the children of Heth.[26] (The story from Genesis 23 also helps the writer to ground the lawfulness of commerce between Christians and infidels).

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[26] In the fourth edition of his compilation in 1626, Samuel Purchas similarly refers to the "lawfull purchase of a great part of the Country" from Virginians, a lawful exchange which was, he adds, "of no small consequence to the conscience" (832).

Crashaw next proclaims: "[W]e will exchange with them for that which they may spare, and we doe neede; and they shall haue that which we may spare, and they doe much more need" (D3). His point, ambiguously made, tries to appeal to both dissenters and supporters of the Virginian project. Assuring skeptics of equitable exchanges with inhabitants, the writer complicates a picture of fairness by evoking the venting topos, and the European discourse of trifles, of worthless, excess goods that savages invariably esteem above things of greater value, to hint that these fair dealings will be much fairer to the English than to Indians. Crashaw's ambiguity is deliberate; it enables the writer to negotiate a middle path through public scrutiny without undermining his propaganda. His marginal note, "A Christian may not doe wrong to a Heathen" (D3), is similarly though more disturbingly equivocal for at the same time that it suggests a fair course of action by invoking Abraham's lawful purchase of Machpelah, it also reifies for less scrupulous readers the right of Christians, simply as Christians, to intrude into the lands and lives of savages.

If Hayes and Peckham sought to align their sympathies with doubtful members of their audiences, Robert Johnson states at the beginning of "Nova Britannia" that he was, until recently, because of his own objections based on a flawed understanding of the project, one of those who had withheld his financial support. After hearing "sufficient reasons answering all objections," and devoting himself, like Peckham, to a "more advised consideration," Johnson explains that, "witholding no longer, I yielded my money and endeavours as others did to advance the same, and . . . I must needes say I neuer accompted my poor meanes employed to better purpose" (235). As a financially invested supporter and an encourager of others to join the scheme, Johnson is compelled to grapple with the issue of greed. "[S]ome object," he writes, "wee seeke nothing lesse then the cause of God, beeing led on by our owne private ends." While the conventional response is a disavowal of any pernicious intent, which response must have struck many readers as contrived and insincere, Johnson admits greed as an integral part of God's plan to help propagate the gospel among Americans: "[M]any actions both good in themselves, and in their successe, have beene performed with badde intents: so in this case, howsoever our naughtines of minde may sway very much, yet God may have the honor, and his kingdome advanced in the action done" (239).[27] Anticipating that the idea of God shouldering the responsibility for human

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[27] Johnson's justification was anticipated by Hayes in 1583: "God in his wisedome hath permitted to be reuealed, from time to time, a certain obscure and misty knowledge [of riches in America] . . . to allure the mindes of men that way (which els will be dull enough in the zeale of his cause)" (680). The trope reappears again in William Vaughan's encouragement of a Newfoundland settlement in The golden fleece (1626): "And because the depraued nature of mankinde delighteth in appetite and some appearance of profit; therefore *his sacred Maiestie* discouered that plentifull *Fishing* vnto vs, to allure vs from our home-bred idleness, to this necessary place of *Plantation*" (Aaa3v).

weakness might not satisfy some members of his audience, Johnson admits that the charges of greed do, nonetheless, "well admonish us, how to rectifie our hearts and ground our meditations" (239).

The propagandist objects to greed out of rhetorical necessity, but notice that he rails against a certain kind of avarice only, one that registers an inconstant support for the undertaking when profits are not soon to materialize. The American cause is a worthy one, he proclaims, and every honest man should set his hand to the "profitable plough" in order to further the good of both God and nation. "But wee must beware that under this pretence that bitter root of greedy gaine be not so settled in our harts, that beeing in a golden dreame, if it fall not out presently to our expectation, we slinke away with discontent, and draw our purses from the charge. If any shew this affection, I would wish his baseness of minde to be noted" (239). Johnson does not eschew avarice, which he interprets as a healthy sign of God's will, provided, that is, that this greed is not for "greedy gaine," that it only has a moderate hold on adventurers' hearts ("look it be not chiefe in your thoughts" [239]). Following the propagandist's rather skewed logic, what he really seems to be saying is that he has no objections to greed provided it does not discourage investors from supporting the initiative through lean times; it is the greedy "slinke[r]," the investor who refuses, essentially, to underwrite the more acceptable greed of others, who warrants Johnson's particular (not to mention threatening) outrage: "I would wish his baseness of minde to be noted."

Johnson's strategy to work through cupidity begins, however, to turn back on itself, as if the writer was conscious of the hypocrisy of his own rhetoric. It is fascinating that the propagandist's attack on "greedy gaine," not unlike Peckham's efforts to purge Gilbert's motivations, reminds the writer of, and prompts his scrutiny of, the abject motivations of another imperialist. Johnson utilizes the minimal narrative of Don Juan Daquila, a Spanish Catholic usurper who had invaded Christian Ireland in an apparent attempt to liberate the Irish from their Christian subjugation by converting them to Catholicism, a motivation which was, according to Johnson, "a plausible pretence, the least end of his thought" (239-40). Daquila, like Ralegh, Gilbert, and Themistocles, only more severely for the reason that his image recalls the myth of the Black Legend, provides a sharp point of contrast to the ostensibly less-greedy, present action in Virginia. In this sense the representation of Daquila functions as another way to refract attention away from the issue of English greed, a matter which was, the bulk of attempted disavowals in Johnson's text indicates, a central problematic to both the propagandist and his readers.

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On December 14, 1610 Richard Martin, secretary of the Virginia Company at London, wrote Jamestown secretary William Strachey to request that he report

> the nature & qualitie of the soyle, & how it is like to serve you without helpe from hence, the manners of the people, how the Barbarians are

> content with your being there, *but especially* how our owne people doe brooke their obedience, how they endure labor, whether willingly or upon constraint, how they lyve in the exercise of Religion, whether out of conscience or for fashion, & what hope of the successe, wherein I desire you & coniure you, by our auncient acquaintance & good intentions, to deale Clearely with me, as I wold do with you in the like case, that thereby I may be truly able to satisfie others, & to direct my counsells & endevores for prevention of evil, if there be any. (my emphasis)[28]

The emphasis on a clear dealing here is important; as Strachey's editors, Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund, point out, Virginia Company officials were too sensible to take their own propaganda at face value, and the honest appraisals of observant and experienced eyewitnesses such as Strachey were therefore solicited (xxv). After the Jamestown secretary had returned to England in September 1611, he responded to Martin's request by completing, as a supplement to his oral reports to Martin and other Company officials, the Historie of Travell Into Virginia Britania (c. 1612). Around the same time he also edited the strict body of Lawes Diuine, Morall and *Martiall* (1612), which tract sought to regulate the conduct of its settlers and thus to root out the difficulties of irreligious behaviour and dissension which impacted the nascent colony.[29]

Widely known and criticized by several Jamestown commentators and policy makers were the private exchanges between colonialists and Virginians since these behind-the-scenes transactions contributed to the devaluation of English goods and trifles. In 1609, William Strachey had already shown a sensitivity toward the "intolerable abuses thrust upon the colony by these shameless people" who

> truck with the Indians, giving for their trifles, otter skins, beavers, raccoon furs, bears' skins, etc., so large a quantity and measure of copper as, when the truckmaster for the colony in the daytime offered trade, the

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[28] From the Jonson-Chapman Letter Book in the Folger Library. Qtd. in Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund's edition of Strachey, Historie of Travell Into Virginia Britania xxv.

[29] On the issue of social control, see N.P. Canny, "The Permissive Frontier" *passim.* Of course, the disaffection of colonialists' was often the result of the unfavorable living conditions noted earlier. In Colonial Encounters Peter Hulme examines indications "of a persistent flow of Englishmen voluntarily leaving the harsh conditions of Jamestown for the Algonquian towns in the surrounding area where, at least before 1622, they were rapidly and unproblematically assimilated" (143). For a study of such English gone native, see Axtell, "The White Indians."

> Indians would laugh and scorn the same, telling what bargains they met withal by night from our *mangot quintans* (so calling our great ships); by which means, the market with them forestalled thus by these dishonest men, I may boldly say they have been a consequent cause (this last year) to the death and starving of many a worthy spirit. ("A True Reportory" 72-73; cf. 98)

According to Smith in the Map of Virginia (1612), Captain Newport was mostly responsible for the depreciation of English wares because he had allowed mariners, after their first arrival in Virginia in 1607, presumably to help build his credit among this typically fractious lot, to trade with Amerindians wholly at their discretion. "But in a short time," writes Smith, "it followed, that could not be had for a pound of copper, which before was sold for an ounce. Thus ambition [Newport's as well as the mariners'] . . . cut the throat of our trade" (390; cf. 386, 415-416). Virginia Company officials had sought previously, in vain, to redress the trade imbalance; heeding Smith's earlier warnings in his 1608 correspondence to the Virginia Council, the Company's instructions to Sir Thomas Gates of 1609, one of the earliest documents under the second charter,[30] advises Jamestown's newly appointed governor:

> Yf you hope to winne them [the savages] and to p*ro*vide for yo*ur* selues by trade, you wilbe deceaued for already yo*ur* Copper is embased by yo*ur* abundance and neglect of prisinge it, and they will never feede you but for feare. Wherefore if you p*er*ceaue that they vppon yo*ur* landinge, fly vp into the Countrey and forsake their habitac*i*on you must seise into yo*ur* custody half their corne and harvest. (266)[31]

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[30] Barbour notes that the second charter was signed on May 23 but that the original of Gates's instructions were in the governor's hands before he sailed on May 15. See Jamestown Voyages 2: 262n.2.

[31] The instructions further recommend that colony officials make friends and trade with far-removed nations so that "you shalbe suer of their trade p*ar*tely for Covetousnes and to serue their owne endes, where the Copper is yett in his primary estimac*i*on which Pohaton hath hitherto engrossed and partely for feare of Constrainte" (266-67). Under much pressure from investors to turn a profit in Virginia, the Council also instructed Gates to trade to the best possible advantage: "You must sett prises and values vnder which the trunckemaster must not trade and so you shalbe such to vphold the reputacion of your Commodity and to make your traffique Rich." Further, "be very solicitouse that our fleetes come not home empty nor laden with vseles marchandize." Barbour omits these final instructions in his edition of the Jamestown materials which are reprinted in Kingsbury, ed., 3: 20-22.

Produced in the context of a seemingly irremediable "ambition" which drove down the worth of English goods, the Lawes outlawed all unregulated Anglo-American exchanges: "No man of what condition soeuer shall barter, trucke, or trade with the Indians," article 15 stipulates, "except he be thereunto appointed by lawful authority, vpon paine of death." Unauthorized trade with indigenes was therefore considered a transgression which warranted a punishment more severe than blasphemy (art. 3), slander against a preacher (art. 5), failure to pray twice daily or to respect the Sabbath (art. 6), fornication (art. 11), slander against the leaders, rules and regulations of the colony (arts. 12-13), and trade with sailors, merchants, or mariners (arts. 19-20). The Lawes also sought to safeguard *authorized* trade with Amerindians by regulating--with a severity that highlights the importance of material exchange to the struggling colony--the fair treatment of Virginians approaching the fort at Jamestown: "No man shall rifle or dispoile, by force or violence, take away any thing from any Indian comming to trade, or otherwise, vpon pain of death" (art. 16).

Ironically, the Historie of Travell, the text which Strachey completed around the same time that he edited the Lawes, polemicizes, arguably more than any other work of the period, many of the contemporary debates and criticisms surrounding the motivations of colonialists outlined in the previous sections. Quite simply, the Historie suggests in rather plain terms the accuracy of what the oppositional voice had been arguing all along, that greed was the driving force behind English colonization, and that it pervaded all levels of colonial society. Since Strachey was reporting to Richard Martin and other Company members, who were deeply concerned with the behaviour of colonists, this greed was a strategically valuable issue to address, although Strachey's rather straightforward observations apparently did not make his text a suitable one for publication. Indeed, in addition to the work's unfavorable account of settler life, the Historie may well have had to wait for publication until R.H. Major's edition for the Hakluyt Society in 1849[32] because, since it obscures any expression of a coherent ideology in Anglo-American trade and race relations, Strachey's work evokes a fundamental ambivalence on the subject of England's success in the New World. Appropriating the writings of Smith, Harriot, Hakluyt the younger, Johnson, and Peckham, and drawing on his varied experiences as secretary under governors Gates (in the Bermudas, 1609), De La Warr (1610), and Dale (1611), Strachey in the Historie fleshes out, and offers an important gloss on, several of the attitudes and misperceptions of the group of Jamestown expansionists with whom he was intimately connected.

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[32] The publication of the Historie, three years after the inception of the Hakluyt Society in 1846, fit into the formation of an English national epic during the Victorian period. At this time Strachey's text, like Hakluyt's writings, was appropriated and celebrated as a national treasure. See Wright and Freund, eds., introduction, xiii. For discussions of the rise of an English national identity during the mid-nineteenth century, see Barker; Hawkes, That Shakespeherian Rag *passim*; and my forthcoming entry on Richard Hakluyt the younger.

In his first book, Strachey defends colonization in a manner consistent with other apologists of his time (see Louis B. Wright, Religion and Empire *passim*). Like Hakluyt in the "Discourse," Strachey justifies England's claim to North America on the basis of the Cabots' discoveries and he denies Spain's right to all of the New World (7-29). Like Peckham, Johnson, and others, he invokes the Law of Nations to deny that the American intrusion is unjust to Virginians: on the contrary, it will teach them the benefits of barter and trade, which benefits are an integral part of the civilizing process. "[I]n which shall we offer them iniury?" Strachey asks, "for proffering them trade, or the knowledge of Christ?. . . .[Y]f traffique be thus iustefyable which intendes nothing but transitory proffitt, and increase of temporall, and worldly goodes, shall not planting the Christian faith be much more?" (23). These rhetorical questions are intended to assuage "The many Mouthes of Ignoraunce, and Sclaunder," dissenters who are, he writes in the opening sentence to the "Praemonition to the Reader,"

> ever too apt to let fall the Venome of their worst and most depraving Envyes, vpon the best and most sacred workes, and so not affrayd to blast both this Enterprize, and the divoutest Labourers therein, wrings from me the necessity of this imperfect defence, whome yet I haue observed more in Clamour (me thought) then at any tyme in force, to cry out still vpon yt, calling yt an *vnnationall, and vnlawfull vndertaking*. (7)

The objection to England's "*vnnationall, and vnlawfull vndertaking*," which Strachey rather unconvincingly interprets as the product of a depraved envy, singles out for particular scrutiny the issue of injuring inhabitants by expropriating their rightful possessions.

Like Peckham and Johnson, Strachey employs a minimal narrative in an effort to palliate the appearance of greed. Oddly, though, the story he appropriates, from Xenophon's Cyropaedia, blurs any clear border separating a fair expropriation from one that is reprehensibly and outrightly unjust. "[H]ow vnfitt soever that *suum* [their belongings] be for the Possessor [i.e. Virginians]," he writes, "indeed yt carryes some shew of the Right [for the possessor to possess], and we culpable, whil'st we doe labour in the contrary."

> [A]s Zenophon said, instructing the young *Cyrus*; when the Prince being walked forth one day into the Fieldes, and had spied twoo Boyes comming towardes him, a great Boy covered with a short and skant coat, and a little Boy clad in a large trayned, wyde, and long gowne, *Cyrus* stript them both, and shifted them, by the exchaung so making a better proportion, as he thought of fitnes for either; but I say, his learned Tutor told him, how he had not done well herein; since every one was to be Master of his owne, however yt might appeare a matter of much

> inequality, and the owner vnworthy of so large a measure of Fortune. (16-17)

While the secretary shows little doubt that the benefits of what the English most have to offer Virginians--"true knowledge indeed, which is the worship of the true god, and their and our blessed Redemer Christ Iesus" (17)--outstrip any potential to do them harm, he falters on the subject of injury. As well as admitting to culpability on the part of the English, Strachey complicates, on humanistic and moralistic grounds, the assumption of an easy and rightful intrusion into the lands of savages. Although the inhabitants are "simple" and "barbarous," Strachey writes, they nonetheless practise "all morrall Pollicyes and Offices of Vertue, as perfect, peremptory, and exact, as the vnbeleeving Grecians, and infidelious Romans had" (17). Further, Strachey is the only writer of the period I know of to admit that Virginians might not be familiar with the European principle of the Law of Nations (22). Although he states that their lack of awareness is no grounds for defence, since Christians possess a superior knowledge of what is right for the fellowship of the world's communities, Strachey rather radically and dangerously foregrounds a doubt central to the oppositional viewpoint--the suspicion that Anglo and American peoples did not share the same set of assumptions regarding travel into foreign nations.

The secretary's misleading and inaccurate handling of the story of Xenophon and Cyrus is additionally revealing of an ambivalence on the subject of doing injury to Amerindians. In Xenophon's story, Cyrus's teacher had actually instructed him to evaluate the fairness of the bigger boy's forced removal of the smaller boy's larger gown in exchange for his own small garment. Cyrus determined that, since each boy was more properly fitted afterward, the exchange was wholly equitable. The teacher reprimanded Cyrus on his poor sense of fairness and then beat him.[33] Although it is impossible to determine whether or not Strachey's departure was intentional or accidental, the result of a lapse in memory, his other references to contemporary and classical texts indicate the author's general preference to work in nearer proximity to his source materials. In either case, Strachey's rendering yields a more auspicious allegory, one which sidesteps the thorny difficulties raised by the big boy's (i.e. English colonialists') forced removal of the small boy's (i.e. Virginians') possessions. And surely these difficulties would have been exacerbated by the familiar ring of a tale in which the big boy was apparently certain, as was his judge, Cyrus, that his actions were thoroughly lawful, especially since these actions were quite unjust and punishable according to better wisdom. Indeed, in the context of an intense opposition to colonial avarice, Strachey could not have included in unmediated form the minimal narrative of Xenophon and Cyrus without seriously weakening his apologia--although, given that the more informed members of his audience would have been familiar with the original

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[33] Wright and Freund note the discrepancies between the two versions in Strachey, Historie 16n.3. See also Xenophon 1: 41.

account, one wonders if many readers would not already have recognized his rather strained rhetoric.

Even more serious signs of the writer's ambivalence emerge in the context of trade, for while Strachey reproves the avarice of fellow colonialists, he reifies, contributes to, and attempts to incite readers by employing, the trope of trifles. On the one hand, Strachey criticizes,

> our dull Ignorance, depraved wills, or Imperfection of Reason, or all three, how doe yee transport vs? who when we should labour, a wane and dyminution of the most Imposture, the most falce, (yet, eye-pleasing Obiects) of our carnall sences, not so much as making out after the least of them in poore Indian Canoas, how their godly representations beguyle vs, that we neglect all good things, and (like english Lords) pursue these on the Streame of delight, in swift Bardges. (23)

This strangely poetic moment in Strachey's text offers a clear picture of the allure of "eye-pleasing Obiects" and "godly representations" in Virginia, as well as it underscores the tendency of many to neglect their duties and stations in order to pursue transitory profits and pleasures. As Richard Martin and other Virginia Company officials recognized, one of the most persistent barriers to success in the New World was shaped by the fantasies and motivations of colonialists, which reified the very greed that many members of the public had long since called into question. It was out of a concern "for the prevention of evil" that Martin wrote the secretary in December 1610, and it was in response to observations such as Strachey's that the martial Lawes were written and enforced. The pamphlet expresses little interest in the conversion of Virginians;[34] on the contrary, the Lawes were intended to help govern the factious and avaricious settlers. The sermon appended to the end of the tract, authored by either Strachey himself or by Master Buck, the minister at Jamestown, sought to root out all "worldlinesse," "carnall lusts," and "other our native corruptions" (63)--undesirable qualities indeed in a colony where even foodstuffs such as corn (never mind precious metals) were remarkably scarce.

Given, on the one hand, Strachey's role in the production of the Lawes, as well as his straightforward observations of cupidity in the Historie, it might seem surprising that the latter text, on the other, so enthusiastically participates in the get-rich-quick discourse of trifles. American lands, Strachey says, the English "will bargayne and buy of them for copper, hatchetts, and such like commodityes, for which they will even sell them-selues" (26). Strachey upholds as a model Captain Samual Argall's expedition to

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[34] The only such reference appears at the end of Strachey's dedicatory sonnet to the Virginia Council, in which he asserts the colony's missionary success--a dubious claim indeed given that the secretary could cite no proof of any native turning Christian, but plenty on the subject of English desertion (see my note 29).

the Oquiho River which yielded, "well neere 400. bushells of wheat, peas and beanes (besyde many kind of furrs) for 9 powndes of Copper, 4 bunches of beades, 8 dozen hatchetts, 5 dozen of knives, 4 bunches of bells, 1 dozen of Sizers, all not much more worth than 40s. English" (46). He notes, as other writers note, that Virginians "are generally Covetous of our Commodities, as Copper, white beades for their women, Hatchetts, of which we make them poore ones of Iron . . . knyves and such like" (75). And he entices readers with the encouragement that "lesse then one ounce [of copper] will serve to entertayne [employ] the labour of a whole howshould for ten dayes" (93). The dramatic contradiction in Strachey's text between the reality of Anglo-American trade--as we shall see, trifles had negligible strategic power in Jamestown--and the dream of easy wealth suggests to some extent the hold that the trifling fantasy had on even the most pragmatic American observer. The discrepancy also says something about the promotional necessity for the Renaissance travel writer to conform to an accepted discursive practice by evoking the very greed which he otherwise sought to disavow through rhetorical strategy.

Powhatans were clearly not the simple innocents anticipated by a century of European rhetoric to do with the illusory power of trifles. They were far from these literary prototypes of the Noble Savage, nothing like those whom Gabriel Archer believed had "no commerce with any nation, no respect of p*ro*fitt, neither is there scarce that we call meum et tuum among them" (101). As Helen Rountree's analysis of Powhatan's paramount chiefdom suggests, the Algonkian despot did not acquire his territories or dominion by submitting to, or being cowed by, his enemies, and he most certainly placed the interests of himself and his peoples above the objectives and aims of the English interlopers.[35] Powhatan's authority was well recognized by the English, and so was the cruelty with which he intimidated and controlled his subjects. According to Smith,

> They all knowe their severall landes, and habitations, and limits, to fish, fowle, or hunt in, but they hold all of their great Werowance Powhatan, vnto whome they pay tribute of skinnes, beades, copper, pearle, deare,

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[35] Powhatan's career as paramount chief began sometime between the 1550s and 1580s, when he inherited from one or both of his parents the chiefdoms of Powhatan, Arrohateck, and Appamattuck near the falls of the James River and the chiefdoms of Pamunkey, Mattaponi, and Youghtanund in the upper York River drainage. He then expanded his territories, either by military conquest or intimidation, until by 1607 he controlled all the peoples of the coastal plain with the exception of the Chickahominies. Shortly before the English arrived, Powhatan, after hearing a prophecy from his priests to the effect that he would be conquered by a nation "from the *Chesapeack* Bay" (Strachey, Historie 104-05), attacked and wiped out the Chesapeakes, the only other tribe which had held out against his expansionist aims. See Rountree, Pocahontas's People 25-27 and The Powhatan Indians of Virginia 9, 11-12.

> turkies, wild beasts, and corne. What he commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great feare and adoration all these people doe obay this Powhatan. For at his feet they present whatsoever he commandeth, and at the least frowne of his browe, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare: and no maruell, for he is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offend him. For example hee caused certaine malefactors to be bound hand and foot, then hauing of many fires gathered great store of burning coles, they rake these coles round in the forme of a cockpit, and in the midst they cast the offenders to broyle to death. Somtimes he causeth the heads of them that offend him, to be laid vpon the altar or sacrificing stone, and one with clubbes beates out their braines. When he would punish any notorious enimie or malefactor, he causeth him to be tied to a tree, & with muscel shels or reeds, the executioner cutteth of his ioints one after another, euer casting what they cut of into the fire; then doth he proceed with shels and reeds to case the skinne from his head and face; then doe they rip his belly and so burne him with the tree and all. Thus themselues reported they executed George Cassen [a colonist]. Their ordinary correction is to beate them with cudgels. Wee haue seene a man kneeling on his knees, and at Powhatans command, two men haue beat him on the bare skin, till he hath fallen senselesse in a sound, & yet neuer cry nor complained. (Map of Virginia 371-72)

Powhatan was a cunning leader and trader with an infamous subtlety and wit. Strachey records his ruthlessness in provoking outlying tribes to attack the English--an action which the Virginia Council wholeheartedly endorsed in the colony's own dealings with Powhatan. According to Strachey, when the settlers complained to the weroance he replied that "even our King Iames, (commaunding so many divers men) must haue some irreguler and vnruly people" (Historie 58-59). By 1607 when the English first arrived in Virginia, Powhatan had established a highly complex system of trade, barter, tithes, and royalties (Strachey, Historie 87, 91-92; Smith, "Trve report" 26 and Map of Virginia 371). As the English grew increasingly desperate for foodstuffs, Powhatan held out for the best possible exchanges, often demanding that guns and swords be thrown into the bargain. When approached by hungry Englishmen for food, Powhatan put a value on corn, Smith notes caustically, "more pretious then a basket of copper, saying he could eate his corne, but not his copper" (Map 424). But even Smith, Powhatan's harshest critic, expresses in his earlier writings occasional respect for the weroance,[36] particularly on the subject of his skills as a trader. In the Map he reports

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[36] See Fuller's discussion of Smith's Virginian and non-Virginian publications, esp. 107-10. As her study indicates, the explorer's revisions to his Virginian materials, from the "Trve relation" (1608) to the "Proceedings of the English Colony" (in the Map of Virginia [1612]) to the monumental Generall Historie of Virginia (1624), such as the

that Powhatan "carried himself so prowdly, yet discreetly . . . as made vs all admire his natural gifts considering his education, *as scorning to trade as his subiects did*" (my emphasis, 392; cf. "Trve relations" 19, 24). Smith refers incredulously to the despot who, "despising the nature of a Merchant, did scorne to sell, but [rather, he believed] we freely should giue him, and he liberally would requite us" ("A trve relation" 24-27). And the explorer exhibits an admixture of wonder and anger when Powhatan addresses Newport in the following manner: "Captain Newport *it is not agreeable with my greatnes in this pedling manner to trade for trifles*, and I esteeme you a great werowans, Therefore lay me down all your commodities togither, what I like I will take, and in recompence giue you that I thinke fitting their value" (my emphasis, Map 392). In his refusal to trade for trifles, Powhatan upsets the colonial ideal of quick and easy profits in America. While in other contexts the absence of Indian amenability and courteousness, reflected in their refusal to trade with the English, warrants severe condemnation (see page 4), Smith is profoundly ambivalent on the subject, and demonstrates both a respect and a loathing borne out of frustration for the Algonkian leader and his trading policies. An important marker of this ambivalence is Smith's image of Powhatan as a "politick saluage" ("A true relation" 24), as a savage, that is, whose savage factor is at the same time increased by a politic craftiness *and* moderated by a politic (from the Greek *politikos* meaning "civic") ability to negotiate effectively in the interests of himself and his people. For Smith, who claims throughout his writings a cunning which rivals and betters that of his enemy, Powhatan is the sort of Indian he just loves to hate and love. In contradistinction, Strachey does not have the same investment in painting a heroic picture of himself. His own admiration for the savage provides an even more solid idea of just how loosely and ambivalently rooted was the English conviction in their hegemony in Virginia.

The trifling strategy in dealing with Americans was in reality quite counterproductive to the Virginian project, although this fact was barely admitted into policy by Company administrators. Strachey in particular had a sharp eye for the way Amerindians took advantage of foreign goods. He reports instances of so-called "simple salvages" who turned around and purchased with their trifles "double that quantety from their neighbours" (Historie 26). Powhatan discouraged the English from trading with his enemies in order, the secretary observes, to "monopolize all the Copper brought into Virginia by the English: and whereas the English are now content, to

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infamous metamorphosis of his rescue by Pocohantas, are notoriously problematic. At the risk of oversimplifying his editorial revisions, and the contexts in which they came about, Smith in general presents a more scathing image of Amerindians as time progresses. The possible explanations are many and include Smith's increasing need to depict, as Fuller puts it, his "virtual omnipotence [in his relations with savages] and . . . superiority to other colonists" (115). Comparing the captain's varying accounts of encounters with natives, Fuller finds that "A land of people you can talk to is supplanted by a land of barbaric ritual and threat" (119).

receave in Exchaunge a few measures of Corne for a great deale of that mettell . . . Powhatan doth again vent some smale quantety thereof to his neighbour Nations for 100 tymes the value, reserving notwithstanding for himself a plentifull quantety" (107).[37] The people of Powhatan were also subject to a violent Algonkian version of the English martial law which outlawed unauthorized trade: a young warrior named Amarice, for example, "had his braynes knock't out," Strachey observes, "for selling but a baskett of Corne [to the English] without Powhatans leave" (Historie 62). Prior to 1622, English actions and policies in Virginia were almost wholly reactionary: while the English tried to enforce rules in a futile effort to prevent the further devaluation of their goods, Powhatan had promulgated his own restrictions in order to maintain and drive up the demand and price of Virginian resources.

One of the reasons for England's early failures in America was a severe underestimation of Virginia's peoples. This underestimation is acknowledged in Virginia Company documents produced after the uprising (see note 22), and it is suggested in an ambivalence on the subject of trade in the texts of Smith, Strachey, and others. Colonialists, universally correct in identifying the high regard of trifles among Amerindians, had no conception of the relative worth of these seemingly valueless goods.[38] Trifles contributed to the Powhatan economy, certainly, although this explanation barely tells the reason--which Strachey and Smith unwittingly highlight in their texts--why such wares were in demand: European trifles rapidly became an integral part of indigenous social and cultural practices. Describing local burial rites, the secretary notes that "[t]heir Inwards they stuff with perle, Copper, beades, and such Trash sowed in a skynne" (Historie 94). He reports that Powhatans believe that the souls of their weroances and priests "travell as far as where the Sun setts into most

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[37] Natives' high estimation of copper was well known to English expansionists. In a caption describing one of John White's drawings, for example, Thomas Harriot writes that "they esteem [copper] more than gold or silver" (qtd. in Knapp, "Elizabethan Tobacco" 281). Doubtless the scarcity of copper along the eastern seaboard helps to explain some of its esteem among Algonkians. According to Francis Jennings, Virginians, prior to the arrival of whites, were able to obtain only small quantities of the metal from their neighbors, who themselves had acquired it through a complex trade route originating at its source in northern Michigan (85-86).

[38] Cf. Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions 110. Many late twentieth-century scholars from anthropology to philosophy would see the worth of trifles to others as locally or culturally produced. For a concise discussion of some of the major writings on the subject of relative knowledges, from Clifford Geertz's Local Knowledge to Jean François Lyotard's The Postmodern Condition, see Wlad Godzich's foreward, "The Possibility of Knowledge," to Certeau, Heterologies vii-xxi. For early colonial misinterpretations of Indian culture and behaviour, see Cave 17-21 and Greenblatt, introduction, New World Encounters x.

pleasant feildes . . . where yt shall doe no labour but . . . rest in all quiet and peace, and eate delicious fruicts, and haue store of Copper, beades, and hatchetts, sing, daunce and haue all variety of delights and merryments" (Historie 100). English trifles were also used as status symbols and as centrepieces in observances relating to warfare and marriage (Historie 108, 112).[39] These seem like fairly routine observations, the kinds of remarks that might have appeared in any number of English accounts with ethnographic content, but Strachey and Smith are the first to document the assimilation of English wares into native society. In their observations of the socio-cultural worth of English commodities, however, the two writers fail to identify the strategic importance of their findings: the potential of trifles to facilitate English hegemony in the region if colonialists were to shift away from their short-term, greedy understandings of trifles to a long-term scheme which emphasized a sense of trifles' relative worth. Their lack of recognition results in an ironic gloss on the European view of "savages" who were "generally Covetous of our commodities," of savages who were, by implication, ignorant and naive.

Strachey, to be sure, did not possess the same biases toward Virginians as Smith, whose representations of barbarity, as in the above example of Powhatan torture and execution, heighten Smith's own image as a conqueror forceful and clever enough to exert authority over such savages. Indeed, the secretary seems to have been too radically inquisitive about Powhatan and his peoples to avoid offering in the Historie an implicit destabilization of the taxonomies and epistemologies upon which the discursive appearance of control in Virginia relied. His appropriation of Smith's version of Powhatan cruelty is a fascinating case in point. For the most part Strachey simply renders Smith's text into his own words, although he does include certain details not available in his source. He informs us, for example, that George Casson, the settler whose execution is mentioned in Smith's text, was seduced in the first place by a group of native women, and so makes him largely responsible for his own fate. Strachey also emphasizes that Powhatan does not normally have his people put to death, and he implies that the more usual form of correction, the beating with cudgels noted in Smith's account, is not so unusual because it is also practised by Turks.

Strachey's most extraordinary departure from his source has more to do with the subject of Powhatan's exercise of control: whereas Smith describes Powhatan's domination over *Indians* through the exercise of intimidation and fear, Strachey glosses Smith's text by locating another source of the weroance's power to exert a remarkable influence over the *English*:

> And sure yt is to be wondered at, how such a barbarous and vncivill Prynce, should take into him (adorned and set forth with no greater

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[39] Smith provides similar observations, and also notes the use of English trifles in the worship of Oke, their "deuill," in sacrifices to the water god, and in Powhatan's own cache of treasure to be buried with him after death (Map 364-70).

> outward ornament and munificence) a forme and ostentacion of such Maiestie as he expresseth, which oftentimes strykes awe and sufficient wonder into our people, presenting themselues before him, but such is (I believe) the Impression of the divine nature, and howsoever these (as other) heathens forsaken by the true light, haue not that portion of the knowing blessed Christian-spirit, yet I am perswaded there is an infused kynd of divinenes, and extraordinary (appointed that it shalbe so by [the] king of kings) to such who are his ymediate Instruments on earth. (Historie 60-61)

While Smith reads Powhatan's sway as the result of the fear he instills in his subjects, the secretary is "perswaded" that the "awe" and "sufficient wonder" Powhatan strikes in others, specifically, the English, derives not from the external accouterments typical of monarchs but from an "extraordinary" and "infused" divineness. Strachey's representation of Powhatan here borders on the heretical and fetishistic. Not unlike his earlier account of his peers' attraction to native trifles--"how their godly representations beguyle vs"--the image of colonialists "presenting themselues before" this "ymediate Instrument," under the spell of Powhatan's divinely inspired charisma, directly challenges, even inverts, the portrayal of Christian mastery over Virginian savagery that other writers like Smith cultivated in their narratives of settler life.[40]

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[40] In the Princeton manuscript of the Historie, Strachey even intended to insert an illustration of Powhatan following his textual description, but unfortunately only a blank half-page exists. He had hoped that "somwhat may this Catagraph, or Portrayture following, serve to expresse the presentement of this great king *Powhatan*" (61).

Conclusion

As the three case studies in this dissertation make clear, early modern English writers appropriated Old World mythologies and epistemologies in their efforts to describe America and its peoples: the Frobisher narratives call explicit attention to those theories and expectations surrounding travel to northern regions and contact with northern peoples believed to be monstrous and barbaric; the myth of the golden age, particularly the idea of Americans as living after the manner of the golden age, is invoked time and again in the Roanoke writers' depictions of Carolina Algonkians; and, finally, the western European allure of trifles is invested and reinvested in the Virginian promotional materials with the ability to perform, both domestically and abroad, sensational feats of transformative and regenerative power. The writings associated with each of these early colonial moments demonstrate that the authority of the past directed and helped shape descriptions of Amerindians. The observation that the old significantly impacted the way that many writers imagined and articulated the new is not, of course, a unique or surprising one given that the same point has been made, repeatedly, in different ways with varying points of emphases, by Harry Levin, Patricia Seed, Stephen Greenblatt, among many others, whose historical and critical discussions of the subject I have tried to supplement over the course of this project.

This present study differs significantly from these other readings of early modern European representational practices by complicating a dominant analytical model which sees the process of transporting the descriptive technologies of the past to the new as unproblematic, and which defines the lines of continuity between texts within and beyond various epochs as fixed and unbroken. We have seen, for example, that English colonial discourses instantiate numerous sites of conflict, moments which I have referred to as ambivalent, where the experiences of travellers contradicted their

inherited assumptions and seem to prompt a revision or reevaluation of past authority: details "worth the noting" about the Inuit, and, especially, about the up-close kidnapped Inuit, which frustrate travellers' expectations to do with the presumed northern barbarians; actual or potential conflicts with Carolina Algonkians, visibly suppressed in Barlowe's narrative, which belie the expression of a Virginian Paradise; the "infused kynd of divinenes" of Powhatan, who exhibited, among other unforeseen, "extraordinary" attributes, a politic refusal to trade with the English in the anticipated trifling manner. Although there is little clarity about what kind of revisions such moments inaugurate, they disrupt beyond doubt thematic and analogous approaches to early colonial texts which reduce representational practices to a set of *a priori* ideological determinisms with which English writers travelled to the New World.

To return to Greenblatt's statement that "We can be certain only that European representations of the New World tell us something about the European practice of representation" (Marvelous Possessions 7), we might ask, what does this analysis of authors from George Best to William Strachey indicate about the English practice of representation? It verifies to a degree Umberto Eco's point that travel writers were "victim[s] of [their] background books" (Serendipities 55) in the sense that they did not work in a way that was cut off from an inherited set of socio-cultural and ethno-geographical discourses on foreign lands and strange peoples. The English, in other words, did not arrive on any American shore with a mind open to the "unknown" geographical space and its inhabitants, since these regions and races, though new to them, were never entirely unfamiliar to the traveller who was also a reader.[1] Nor did

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[1] David Spurr's excellent analysis of the rhetorical features in nineteenth- and twentieth-century journalism and travel writing indicates that even in a "post-colonial" world we continue to travel assured of who and what we will encounter in foreign lands. See

the visitors, after making contact with indigenes, question in an unequivocal way the right of the English to possess America and to exert control over natives. English representations of the New World tell us this much for certain.

Travel writers, however, were not victims of the past in ways that precluded them from grappling actively with information which often stood in contradiction with or had no precedent in their background books. Ambivalence marks the largely unspoken challenge which many writers faced in attempting to render the "unknown" to their patron and lay audiences. Ambivalence suggests that the process of representing America's others during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries was not unilaterally or reductively determined, but surprisingly diffuse, highly fluid, and to a large degree experientially contingent. Obviously, Old World taxonomies enabled authors to confront and control, by giving a recognizable shape to, the unfamiliar and confrontationally alien: the Frobisher writers imposed a sense of order and closure on the uncertain--and therefore threatening--matter of Inuit lifeways and culture by invoking the mythical anthropophagi and other forms of monstrosity; likewise, the Roanoke writers armed themselves and their audiences against the hostile Algonkian by borrowing an inverse model of past authority from the golden age. As we have often seen, however, the stereotypes of blame and praise, and the tropes of the Good and Bad Savage, are most forcefully present at those textual moments when English hegemony in America was under serious threat or at least made highly dubious. Rhetorical strategies of containment are therefore often equivocal and nebulous, and they are, as Homi Bhabha says of the stereotype, "as anxious as [they are] assertive" ("The Other Question" 70).

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especially the chapters "Debasement: Filth and Defilement" (76-91) and "Idealization: Strangers in Paradise" (125-40) in The Rhetoric of Empire.

Travel writers were faced with several types of predicaments in writing. The difficulties or challenges that writers encountered, to sum up arguments made over the course of this project, include overlapping factors such as writing (or reporting) to meet the demands of often indistinguishable audience groups (patrons, organizers, sponsors, potential investors, the reading public, etc.); writing to achieve the aspirations of the individual writer himself (for promotion and preferment); and writing to meet the requirements of the settler body (for sustenance and other forms of support). These factors exerted tremendous pressures on writers and impacted how Amerindians came to be represented in early colonial texts. Much work, I would stress, remains to be done in contextualizing writers' intentions since these determined to a significant degree the shape which writers gave to the New World and its peoples.

Some of the ambivalence I observe, some of the conflicted images of Amerindians drawn out of a seeming love/hate impression of the other, is clearly the product of writers for whom writing was chiefly a persuasive act. In addition to the writings of Ralph Lane considered briefly in chapter two, we might also have analyzed John White's narrative of the 1587 voyage, which is another excellent example of the way motivation engendered ambivalence. Really more of a diary or autobiography than a travel narrative, White's discourse was written before March 25, 1588 and it circulated among Ralegh and other organizers before publication in Hakluyt's 1589 collection. The text is anxiously preoccupied with justifying the actions of the artist-turned-governor whose authority from the beginning of the 1587 voyage was threatened by the experienced and tempestuous Portuguese pilot, Simon Fernandez. The height of their disagreements came when Fernandez, disobeying both Ralegh's and White's instructions, decided to land the 110 settlers on Roanoke Island rather than in the Chesapeake Bay area. While White tried in vain to assert his authority, the decision

was apparently accepted by the crew who considered the Roanoke landing a safer alternative. (White says weakly, "wherefore it booted not the Gouernour to contend with them, but passed [on] to Roanoake" [523]) (see Quinn, Set Fair for Roanoke 273ff.). Since White blames Fernandez throughout his work in a painfully strained effort to assure Ralegh that he himself had done everything in his power to follow his employer's orders, the matter of how the inhabitants of Roanoke Island are caught up, textually, in the middle of his rhetorical struggle would be well worth further investigation. It would be worth thinking also about how the image of the native in White's discourse was transformed over various stages of mediation. From Hakluyt's 1600 edition to Purchas's of 1626, one might chart out disparate versions of White's Amerindian as his original reasons for writing to his patron audience became less and less immediate and were replaced by his editors' own motivated appeals to new groups of patron and lay readers. Not unlike the way that Caliban--who has been read and rewritten in our own time as wild man, noble savage, idiote, monster, cannibal, antimasque or carnivalesque figure, African slave, dispossessed Indian, Caribbean, South American, African, and Quebecois (see Vaughan and Vaughan)--provides a site for the study of cultural histories, the figure of the Amerindian in the early modern era teaches us something not about one perception of a fixed and determinate entity, but about a multiplicity of invested responses to a vastly overdetermined construct.

The predicaments of writing the New World was certainly not limited to first-hand travel accounts, but extended, as we have observed, to plays, poems, colonial instructions, settlers' letters home, reports written by officials in America, sermons, and other forms of promotional writing. The rhetorical practices and strategies in each of these discursive modes demonstrates that the containment of the New World and its peoples, if difficult to achieve in practice, was also a textual problem. Ambivalence is

one of the imprints of the Old World's anxious relationship to the New; it cuts across genre and results not in a counter- or anti-imperialist discourse as such, although we have seen compelling moments of an oppositional voice, but in conflicted writings by several communities of readers, writers, travellers, theorists, propagandists, investors, and colonists which were quite uncertain of England's hegemony in America.

England's early colonialists had good reason to be anxious about their hegemony in the New World, and ambivalence is our primary evidence of a contemporary dis-ease which ranges from dread of the unknown landscape to widespread doubts about the right of an American intrusion. Most significantly, ambivalence reflects the fear of the actual or potential loss of imperial control to savage forces. While we need to keep in mind that the texts under discussion in this study were written from a European perspective, and so they cannot be made to tell an Amerindian side of events in a historically accurate manner, ambivalence should extend Greenblatt's prudent though limiting view of what representation might teach us. In chapter two I suggested the good possibility that the Mi'kmaq, when exchanging goods with Cartier and his men, were engaged in a process of trading to their own material advantage (page 71). We can draw this idea out a little further by way of another example. In 1607 the English, in an attempt to make Powhatan subject to James, and to create the image of a North American Atahualpa, the last Inca emperor, enacted a ridiculous coronation ceremony in which Christopher Newport presented the Algonkian with a copper crown and a scarlet robe. Pagden suggests that the London organizers who drummed up the idea of the ceremony sent the copper crown to Powhatan in order to indicate the inferior status of James's new tributary ruler (Lords Of All the World 65).

But to indicate to whom? Certainly Powhatan, who by all accounts valued copper more even than gold, would have read the symbolic event in a manner wholly

different than the English. He might even have seen it as a necessary acquiescence, arising out of the evident weakness of the visitors, to his sovereignty and authority.[2] How might this gesture, then, have affected the politico-economical expectations and aspirations of Powhatan and his peoples? The native ruler who figures in the colonial texts of the period might well be read in a radically different light than he is at present. Although we cannot, to be sure, observe him dealing the cards, we might see Powhatan, through the small opening that is his conqueror's ambivalence (Smith's view of the "politick saluage," for instance) playing the hand of his guests to the best of his abilities.[3] In this way ambivalence, as a marker of the Old World's inability to contain or control the New, and of the frustration and sense of defeat in this inability, makes it possible to open a wider though necessarily incomplete consideration of Amerindian improvisational power and agency during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries.

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[2] On observations of English weakness through "Powhatan" eyes, see chapter 2, "Watching a Struggling Colony" in Rountree, Pocahontas's People 29-55.

[3] Set against the attempts of settlers like Archer to depict Powhatan's pleasure of the coronation gifts (see 91), and so to stress the idea of his easy capitulation to English rule, is John Smith's contradictory assessment of the ceremony in his 1608 letter to the Virginia Council: "For the Coronation of Powhatan, by whose advice you sent him such presents, I know not; but this giue me leaue to tell you, I feare they will be the confusion [ruin] of vs all ere we heare from you againe" (243). The captain's editor and friend, Samuel Purchas, clarifies Smith's meaning in his 1626 edition when he writes that the ceremony encouraged Powhatan to "ouer-value himselfe" (832).

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